



THE EXPOSITORY TIMES.

Notes of Recent Exposition.

How are we to preach the Cross to-day? That is a question that faces every working minister. It might be put much more drastically in a way that involves not only preachers but all serious Christians: What are we to *believe* about the Cross to-day? The question is raised and discussed, strangely enough, simultaneously in several quarters this month, in the 'Hibbert Journal' by Dr. C. J. CADOUX, in the Report of the Cromer Conference by Dr. C. E. RAVEN, in 'God and the World through Christian Eyes' by Professor C. H. DODD, and at the Cambridge Congregational Conference by Dr. A. C. BOUQUET. It may be interesting and useful to give a summary of what these distinguished persons, of very different schools, have to say about the problem.

No one seems prepared to support the traditional 'propitiation' or 'substitution' theory. As was to be expected, Dr. CADOUX is very emphatic in his repudiation of it. We have erred, he thinks, in hardening metaphor and poetry into doctrine. He frankly admits that St. Paul's 'difficult language' left no clear doctrine to his successors, but convinced them that the idea of a propitiatory sacrifice was an essential part of the Christian 'Message about the Cross.' It was natural, indeed inevitable, for a Jew to interpret the death of Christ in terms of the sacrosanct sacrificial system. But that point of view is impossible for us, and we should not base any doctrine on the language of an outworn sacrificial usage. The unwillingness

of Christian teachers to say this plainly, he feels, is largely responsible for the perplexity in which many Christians find themselves to-day.

The right place to begin is the human goodness of Jesus. To prosecute His great appeal without fighting His enemies meant simply dying at their hands. This He resolved to do, and it is with the supreme moral nobility of this self-sacrifice that we have to start. It is in this we see God. And to see God here and thus is to be moved to self-contempt and to a longing for closer fellowship with God and a worthier life. In Shaw's play 'Saint Joan' the English chaplain confesses that what redeemed him was 'a young woman whom I saw actually burned to death. It was dreadful; oh, most dreadful. But it saved me. I have been a different man ever since . . .' Now this is salvation, and that man may find his way to such salvation by reverently contemplating the death of Jesus and teachably allowing himself to be mastered by it, is, Dr. CADOUX believes, the heart of the Christian doctrine of the Atonement.

This is borne out by three facts. (1) By the teaching of Jesus Himself. Jesus always portrays God as forgiving men simply on the strength of that newer and truer attitude to life and to Himself which is commonly called repentance. God's forgiveness is a gracious personal act, springing from His fatherly love. This teaching is fatal to the view that Jesus' death was, in His own mind,

an objective propitiation for human sin. (2) By the great passage in Is 53 which we know Jesus regarded as fulfilled in Himself. The sin of many is removed by the Servant, because His sufferings have led them to repentance. And (3) by the typical evangelical experience of 'redemption through the blood,' which, when you pierce through the rich covering of descriptive metaphor, you find to be essentially the experience which has been just described. The metaphors used, propitiation and others, only obscure, but do not quite conceal, the real spiritual truth.

When we turn to Dr. RAVEN's address on 'The Cross and Redemption,' we find, as we expect, a fuller sympathy with the older ways of putting the truth. He says that our task is a double one, to insist on the redemptive efficacy of Calvary, and at the same time to interpret the Cross against a Christ-centred and Cross-centred view of the universe. The Cross is God's act, but it is an act in harmony with all His other activity, as Creator and Sanctifier as well as Redeemer. It is true that we are in a real difficulty about the traditional *language* about the Cross. To many it seems to imply almost moral laxity on the part of the Deity and to involve unworthy thoughts of God and man. And it must be admitted that the traditional doctrines called 'objective' are incomplete, grossly and gravely incomplete, unless there is the response in ourselves to the redemptive, sacrificial, substitutionary activity of God.

But what do these terms, redemption, propitiation, sacrifice, ransom, substitution, really mean? They are used by Paul as metaphors simply to convey to others the splendour of the experience that had come into his own life. Consequently we get, on the one side, this note of triumphant freshness, of victory, of redemption, of good news; and on the other we get a variety of symbols, images, flung down in the rapture of the fulness of his own life, to try and express here a little and there a little the magnificence of what God has done. If you isolate these particular phrases, and say, 'This is the Pauline doctrine of the Atonement,' and, 'This is the Pauline doctrine,' as has been

done, you create the hideous and artificial product of the theologians which we call Paulinism, a thing as remote from the Apostle as it could well be. What we have to do is to look at the central experience of the man, and then, in the light of this, regard the different metaphors which he uses and see how far they do justice to some facet or other of the truth which he is trying to express.

And what do we find? God doing for us what we could not do for ourselves. That is 'substitution,' and all that substitution means. And if we say, 'Christ did this for me,' we can also say that Christ opened up a fresh possibility of Communion with God, of life in God, and that is the heart of what is meant by 'propitiation.' And if propitiation is the bringing into a new relationship with God of His human child, this is a satisfaction of the full purpose of God, an achievement of that towards which the whole creation is moving. Is not that what 'satisfaction' means? And if this frees the soul from the old selfishness, the old rebellion, that is just 'ransom,' what Jesus meant by the word. Let us remember that these old words all sprang from the environment in which those who used them lived. We may use other images, but the truth we express is just the same truth as these older symbols embodied. The essential truth is that the Cross is an act of God, an act in which the whole creative process culminates, and in which is unveiled the essential and eternal nature of God.

There is nothing in the other essays already mentioned that goes beyond Dr. CADOUX and Dr. RAVEN. Professor DODD's view is that the Cross is God's way of dealing with sin, a way that will go any length to win men to goodness. God's love is without limit, but it needed the Cross to assure us of this. And in commemorating Christ's death, and associating ourselves with it, we are made partakers in a divine life which His death released for us. To this the other writers would agree. Indeed, as we read these four essays and look at them together, we gather these two conclusions. One is that the older traditional, isolated way of viewing the Cross is now abandoned by the thoughtful Christian. The other is that when we

pierce to the heart of these traditional theories we find the same reality of experience as we are trying to express to-day in other words. The Cross is God's act, not a revelation of Him only but a *deed*. And in this deed He stands beside us and lifts our burden, and lifts us into fellowship with His own life.

The 'Westminster Books' form a series which is to be warmly welcomed for its timeliness and great practical utility. The most recent addition to the series is a quite remarkable little book by Principal GARVIE, *Can Christ Save Society?* (Hodder & Stoughton; 3s. net).

Principal GARVIE writes with a rare combination of ripe Christian learning and competent knowledge of economic problems, together with passionate conviction and profound human sympathy. He touches on and illuminates a great number of the most pressing questions of the hour—War and Pacifism, Capital and Labour, Finance and Tariffs, Socialism, Marriage and Family Life. On these topics he has much to say that is clear, decisive, and arresting. We can only attempt to sketch briefly the bare outline of his argument.

In criticising the present crisis he regards as misleading the tendency to ascribe all the ills from which the world is suffering to the Great War. No doubt it made the world situation incalculably worse, 'but to regard this as an adequate analysis of the world's crisis would be to betray ignorance and folly.' The War was but the harvest of what the world had been sowing. 'It was because the world was economically and politically a corrupt tree that it brought forth this corrupt fruit.'

The situation may be described in a word, 'Poverty amid Plenty.' Whatever forces, political and economic, have brought about this situation, we shall never visualize it aright until it is stamped on our minds and hearts in living pictures of human life. 'Let us try to realise the tragedy of the home, the agony of the heart, when regular employment ceases, when the future holds no certainty of

recovery, when relief sometimes granted under humiliating conditions is altogether inadequate to maintain the former modest standard of living. The man's weary tramp, hour after hour, in search of work, the woman's denial of her own appetite that there may be more nourishment for her children . . . let us hold these pictures before our eyes, till our hearts are moved as they must be: and, surely, the present crisis will cease to be an outward evil, and become an inward experience, and we shall be driven by an accusing conscience to cry out: What can be done? What ought to be done? Lord, what wilt Thou have me to do? This cry must not be wrung from solitary individual Christians only, it must come from the whole Christian community.'

It is impossible for the Christian Church to be indifferent and to keep silence, especially if she believes, as she must, that Christ is the Saviour of the world as well as of the individual soul. There are those who say to the Church, 'Hands off,' and who think she is going beyond the scope of her commission when she ventures into the sphere of economics. But economics is 'concerned with human *conduct* in the widest sense, man's conscious voluntary action, and we cannot withdraw any of the processes from the authority of moral laws, for whatever a man does is right or wrong, and he is good or bad in the doing of it.' It may be conceded that here, as indeed in all spheres, there are difficulties in carrying out Christian principles, and special knowledge is needed to determine the right course to pursue. But the Christian Church is entitled and qualified to discern and proclaim that the accepted principle according to which material interests come first and are the sole determinants is wrong and must be challenged. 'The immediate task of the Christian Church is not to favour or promote this or that economic proposal: but to insist on the necessity of such reconsideration, to offer an interpretation of the principles of the Christian revelation, to indicate some of the ways of application, to use its influence to secure attention and acceptance for what it is thus offering, and so to bring about a moral recovery of men, without which no new economic system or political pro-

gramme can possess either right direction or adequate motive power.' _____

After a chapter in which Dr. GARVIE discusses the Christian ideal and the limitations of the Christian conscience in understanding and applying that ideal, he goes on in the concluding chapter, which is perhaps the most important in his book, to formulate and expound some of the demands which may legitimately be made in applying the Christian ideal to the needs and dangers of to-day.

The first is 'that an adequate provision be made in any society that lays claim to be Christian in motive and conduct to meet all the physical necessities of all its members.' This must be interpreted as involving support of the young, the sick, and the aged. 'School till the age of fifteen at least, and pensions at the age of sixty, is not impracticable idealism.' It will include, also, a larger proportion of wealth going to the worker in the shape of a really 'living wage' and adequate provision for the unemployed.

The second demand is 'that man shall be treated as infinitely more valuable than things.' Even Christian men unconsciously become conformed in motives and habits to the acquisitive and competitive character of the society in which they find their worldly success. Jesus warned the rich of the spiritual dangers which accrue from riches, but we are confronted to-day, in addition, with a type of poverty which is unblessed and which shows its effects in the deterioration of the unemployed. In all social legislation and remedial effort the preservation and development of true manhood must be supreme.

The third demand of Christian conscience is 'that in the provision of bodily wants, and in the preservation of the worth of human personality, the differences of sex, class, culture, nation, and race shall be transcended.' Class-distinctions, based on inequalities of wealth or differences of industrial function, are distinctly non-Christian, and their maintenance is provocative of class-war, destructive of social solidarity. 'The outlook for

humanity is dark indeed when, in a world becoming daily in all interests more interdependent, these ever-closer contacts are provocative of hate, strife, war, and not, as they are surely in any reasonable or righteous view of life intended to be, the conditions of understanding, appreciation, and co-operation.'

The fourth demand is 'that only self-denial and self-sacrifice can meet the challenge.' Allied to that is the last demand 'that the Christian motive of equal love to self and neighbour, rooted in, growing out of, and kept alive by, absolute love to God, be insisted on as alone efficient and sufficient to secure and sustain Christian conduct as it has been so far described.' How great is the change of heart that is implied in this! St. Paul speaks of his experience as being crucified with Christ and raised from the dead. Such an experience is needed, not by the world only, but first and foremost by the Church. 'This Crucifixion seems to me to be necessary if the Church is to rise into newness of life, into the power of the Resurrection of Christ. . . . I do not deceive myself into supposing that even the majority of Christian men will be easily persuaded (if at all) that the way of the teaching of Jesus is the way in which they must walk. A renewed and revived Church would, however, bear her witness, whether the world heeded or not; and yet by the wonder of God's grace it may be that to-day as of old the witness might not be altogether vain, and so God's judgment (*Krisis*) might prove a channel opened for His love, mercy, and grace.'

Part of the work of Jesus was to open the eyes of the blind. Throughout the Christian centuries it has been part of the work of the spirit of Jesus to open the eyes of the blind. We have already recognized many claims upon us of which our forefathers were unconscious, surprisingly unconscious as it seems to us; but the process still goes on.

It seems only the other day since we first heard the word 'sharing' used in its technical Christian

sense. Now it is in such habitual use by all sorts of bodies from the Burmese Singers to the Oxford Groupers that it has already become trite. But in our zeal to share our experiences and our sins we are apt to overlook the more elementary duty of sharing our material goods.

Many of us are vaguely uneasy because we are comparatively comfortable in a world where there is so much poverty. We hope that some day the State may be able to do something about it. We adopt a more or less friendly attitude to some of the political or economic nostrums proposed. Yet we do not see that there is very much that we as individuals can do; and we are confirmed in this static attitude, partly by the weight of tradition, partly by inertia, partly by the fact that the existing state of things suits us well enough.

But if the walls of our houses were pulled down, if we had to eat our full meals in presence of the starving multitudes, we would not enjoy them very much. We would feel that something *must* be done, and done at once. Is it not one of the chief offices of the spirit of Christ to give us a Christian imagination, to make real to us the existence of the myriads of the needy, it may be thousands of miles away, even if we cannot see them, and, what is more pertinent, even if they cannot see us?

In *Ventures in Simpler Living*, by Dr. D. J. FLEMING, Professor of Missions, Union Theological Seminary, New York (Edinburgh House Press; 5s. net), the 'offset' process has been used and the right-hand margins have been left unrectified. This measure of simplicity and economy has been deliberately adopted, at the expense of æsthetic considerations; for simplicity and economy in living are the theme of the book. Dr. FLEMING has in view, in the first place, the foreign missionary. Judged by the standard of the European in the East, the missionary is a poor man; yet his poverty is often luxury when contrasted with the social condition of the 'nationals' among whom he works. Is this contrast a definite hindrance to the acceptance of the Christian message? If so, is it possible

by further self-sacrifice to diminish or remove this hindrance?

Dr. FLEMING invites the missionary fairly to face this question. Objections will at once rise to the mind. Let it be said that there is hardly one of these objections with which Dr. FLEMING does not himself deal. He is no more anxious than we are to see Mission lands overrun with begging friars. He knows that ill-judged experiments in simplicity have already resulted in much ill-health, sometimes in death. He realizes that the number of servants in an Indian bungalow is largely illusory, and that there are rich people as well as poor even in the East, so that the levelling process would sometimes be levelling up instead of levelling down.

When the missionary has done his best in the way of getting rid of superfluous possessions, there will still be multitudes at a level far below his. The missionary has responsibilities that the nationals around him have not. The discharge of these obligations requires apparatus, and apparatus costs money. The refusal to spend money means unemployment; and may mean starvation for those we would naturally employ. It is not easy to look with patience on the spectacle of educated men and women spending precious time in the discharge of household tasks that servants would be only too glad to perform for payment. Moreover, the motive for our asceticism may be completely misunderstood. Samuel Stokes, the head of the short-lived Brotherhood of the Imitation of Jesus, wandered barefoot through the villages of the Punjab, with the result that the Punjabis thought he was a self-seeker anxious about his own spiritual advancement. The result on the missionary himself cannot always be foretold with certainty. One missionary in India confesses that every time he joins with Indians in a meal, using his fingers as a knife and fork, instead of feeling like an Indian he feels like a pig.

Even in India, some of the missionary's Indian colleagues already have salaries which, judged by any test except a purely arithmetical and misleading one, exceed his own. 'Certain Siamese

once even took up a collection to buy a better dress for a missionary who, they thought, was not living according to her class.' A group of Japanese Christians, when consulted on the subject, showed no interest in it; and expressed a doubt whether the missionaries would not lose influence if they failed to live in houses of a better grade than the average Japanese.

It is possible to exaggerate the importance of the subject. People of all colours and of all social classes know those who respect them and those who do not, those who are thinking mostly of themselves and those who are thinking mostly of others. But when we have said all that can be said, the question raised by Dr. FLEMING remains, puzzling us, disconcerting us, demanding an answer. This book gives us all the help that knowledge and Christian thought can give us. Our own consciences must do the rest. Will Dr. FLEMING not now consider addressing his question to a wider Christian public? No one could do it more effectively.

'In quietness and confidence shall be your strength.' In these words Isaiah expresses a national policy. It was his conviction that the nation's security in the time of the dominance of Assyria lay not in alliances with Egypt or Babylon, but in calmly resting within the national borders and in quietly trusting in the Lord their God. So his motto was, 'Quietness and confidence.'

The wisdom of Isaiah's counsel appears to have been justified by events, and his motto might well be adopted by our own nation, as a guide to personal conduct at any rate, in this time of economic stress and industrial strain. But we cite it here not for such an application, but because in this centenary year of the Oxford or Tractarian Movement we recall its association with John Keble.

The text from Isaiah above quoted was prefixed by John Keble to his famous volume of poems, *The Christian Year*. And we may regard the phrase, 'quietness and confidence,' as expressive not only of the spirit of those poems, but also of the secret of the author's own great influence upon his times.

Newman assures us that Keble was the true and primary author of the Oxford Movement, tracing

the beginning of it from July 14th, 1833, which was the Sunday on which Keble preached the Assize Sermon in the University pulpit of St. Mary's on the subject of National Apostasy. And what was the secret of Keble's influence?

It was not his intellectual brilliance, great as that was. As a lad of eighteen he took his degree with double first-class honours, a distinction which had been gained only once before, and at the age of nineteen he was elected a Fellow of Oriol College, said to be a still greater distinction. Nor was it for any ecclesiastical eminence that his name was influential. He had turned from the admiration, and even reverence, that haunted his steps at Oxford, to simple pastoral work as his father's curate, seeking—as Newman phrases it—a better and holier satisfaction. His influence upon the religious life of his time was chiefly due to nothing else than his rare and saintly character. It was his purity and loftiness of character that aroused the new feeling for religion to action and embodied it in a definite movement. And the springs of his character undoubtedly lay in his personal devoutness, in what might be named his 'quietness and confidence.'

The volume of *The Christian Year* truly reflects his 'quietness and confidence.' Keble's poetry is indeed an image of the man himself. In the outward expression of his feeling, as the late Principal Shairp remarked, everything in Keble is chastened and subdued. There is no gorgeousness of colouring, no stunning sound, no highly spiced phrase or metaphor. From what have been the chief attractions of much modern poetry popular since his day—scarlet hues and blare of trumpets, staring metaphors and metaphysical enigmas—he turned instinctively. And to the outward expression of his feeling its inward tone corresponds.

Here, for example, are some characteristic lines written in the autumn season, in which the calm reflective mood of the poet received a peculiarly delicate expression:

How quiet shows the woodland scene!
Each flower and tree, its duty done,
Reposing in decay serene,

Like weary men when age is won,
Such calm old age as conscience pure
And self-commanding hearts ensure,
Waiting their summons to the sky,
Content to live, but not afraid to die.

The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri.

BY THE REVEREND C. A. PHILLIPS, M.A., BOURNEMOUTH.

It has been a matter of great regret to the Editors of THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, and will be to many of its readers, that my old master and friend, Dr. Rendel Harris, has been unable, owing to failing eyesight, to write this article himself. Nearly forty years ago he taught me to read papyri, and began to guide and enlighten my steps in what were looked upon in those days as the by-paths of New Testament critical study. Only a few days ago he discussed with me the subject of this article. It is a great, though wistful, privilege to have been asked here to take his place.

The discovery and publication of the Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri are not only the most recent of the important finds and events of the last fifty years: they present in a remarkable way a climax, especially with regard to the latest feature and problem which has emerged in the textual study of Gospels, and now known as the 'Caesarean' text. Sir F. G. Kenyon begins the preface to his Schweich Lectures on *Recent Developments in the Textual Criticism of the Greek Bible*¹ by referring to this find as the 'special occasion' which has made such a review opportune: and throughout the first part of the course on the previous discoveries of the past fifty years, and their contribution to the textual problems, he is constantly, and in an almost dramatic way, pointing on to the coming lecture on these Papyri—'of this more later on' . . . 'the full significance of this will appear, when we have all the evidence before us' . . . 'of this much will have to be said at a later stage in these lectures.'

This group of papyri was, most of it, bought by Mr. Chester Beatty some three years ago from native dealers: some leaves were also acquired by the University of Michigan, and generously passed on to him; a few fragments are known to be in private hands; others may still turn up from time to time. The place of their discovery is not known; but they are supposed to have come from the district of the Fayum, and probably from the ruins of some Christian church or monastery. Under the patient and skilful hands of Dr. Ibscher of Berlin, the leaves of these rough spongy lumps of

papyrus have been separated and mounted on glass, and sent to the British Museum for Dr. Kenyon to study and publish, and we have in these two volumes² the benefit of his long and wide experience and scholarship. They comprise portions of twelve distinct manuscripts, of which eleven contain parts of the Greek Bible, and the twelfth a part of the Book of Enoch and a Christian Homily. Nearly all the leaves are more or less imperfect, especially at the sides and lower margins, so that even in the portions included in the following list many of the verses are imperfect, or their exact contents uncertain.

The Old Testament is represented by two portions from Genesis of 44 and 22 leaves, 33 from Numbers and Deuteronomy, 27 from Isaiah, 1 from Jeremiah, 16 from Ezekiel and Esther, 13 from Daniel, 1½ from Ecclesiasticus, and 14 of Enoch and the Christian Homily, mostly of the third century, while the Numbers and Deuteronomy leaves are probably the first half of the second. The New Testament portions include:

30 leaves of the Gospels and Acts, of the third century, perhaps in the first half, containing Mt 20²⁴⁻³² 21¹³⁻¹⁹ 25⁴¹⁻²⁶³. 6-10. 19-33, Mk 4³⁶⁻⁹⁸¹ 11²⁷⁻³³ 12¹⁻²⁸, Lk 6³¹⁻⁴¹. 45-7 9²⁶⁻¹⁴³³, Jn 10⁷⁻¹¹⁵⁷, Ac 4²⁷⁻¹⁷¹⁷; ten leaves of the Pauline Epistles, probably third century, containing Ro 5¹⁷⁻⁶¹⁴ 8¹⁵⁻³⁵ 9³²⁻¹¹³³, Ph 4¹⁴⁻²³, Col 1¹⁻³¹, and part of beginning and end of 1 Th.; ten leaves of Rev 9¹⁰⁻¹⁷², probably late third century.

In vol. i. Dr. Kenyon gives an account of the general history, contents, and value of the collection, with twelve plates showing a specimen leaf of each of the above MSS: these form in themselves quite a little manual of literary and documentary hands of the second to fifth centuries, of varied skill and caligraphy. The Genesis texts are specially valuable, as the Vatican and Sinaitic MSS are very largely wanting here: they are nearer to that which lies behind the work of Origen. The text of Daniel is the original Septuagint and not the version of Theodotus: it presents no marked differences from the one late copy we possess, except that ch. 5 comes in its chronological order after 8²⁷. Some students will be awaiting the publication of the Enoch chapters 97-107 with

² *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri*. Fasc. I. and II., by F. G. Kenyon (London, 1933).

¹ London, 1933. The writer of this article has made full use of this masterly review with its many arresting and illuminating sentences. Quotations otherwise unacknowledged are taken from it.

perhaps more eagerness than any part of the Old Testament. The Christian Homily has not yet been identified.

In vol. ii. we have the text of the portions of the Gospels and Acts with a special introduction and apparatus collating the readings of the Papyrus with the chief Uncial and 'Cæsarean' MSS together occasionally with those of the Old Latin and Syriac versions. Dr. Kenyon has deliberately confined his work to these, that the text might become available without the further delay which an exhaustive study of the latter and of the Patristic quotations, however imperative, would involve.

At least three things stand out from this first study of these Papyri, especially with regard to the Gospels, which are, of course, the chief concern of most of us :

Their witness to the general accuracy of the text, their bibliographical characteristics, their information on the text current in Egypt in the second and third centuries.

I. *Their witness to the general accuracy of the text.*—We have here for the first time, instead of a few scattered fragments, some chapters of S. Matthew and S. John and considerable portions of S. Mark and S. Luke, dating from the third century, probably the earlier half of it, *i.e.* a hundred years or more nearer to their originals than the great Uncials on which Hort and the Revisers based their text; belonging to a New Testament of Origen's days, the days of persecution and isolation of the churches, the days of 'independent development in doctrinal emphasis, in church organization and in religious literature,'¹ the days when the local sacred texts were taking shape, and in which 'their diversity had its roots,' the days of free handling, of inclusion and expansion, as contrasted with those of the fourth and fifth centuries, the days of free communication, of revision, and of standardization. And what is the witness of such a text? Here is Dr. Kenyon's verdict, fully endorsed by Professor Burkitt.² 'It shows no marked divergencies of its own from the main tradition, and it contains none of the marked divergencies found in certain of our early witnesses. It is true that it is very imperfect;³ but it covers such a substantial portion of the Gospels that it is legitimate to draw general conclusions from it;

and these show, in the early part of the third century, a text of the Gospels and Acts identical in all essentials with that which we have hitherto known on the evidence of later authorities.'

II. *The Bibliographical features.*—These papyri are parts of codices (*i.e.* in the modern book form of leaves and pages) and not rolls, and the Gospels and Acts were bound together in one book. In pagan literature the roll was still universally used in the second century, and the codex but rarely in the third. There had been some previous evidences from other Christian fragments, but no such conclusive proof that in the third, and even the second century,⁴ the Christians had their sacred writings in book form, though no doubt the separate rolls were still in use, *i.e.* 'they were accustomed to see the four Gospels in a single book and on a different level of authority from any other narrative of the life of our Lord. This would make it easier to understand how Irenæus, for example, can already argue that the number four is essentially appropriate, and shown by various analogies to be in accordance with God's method of dealing with the world.' We have also here proof, for the first time, that as early as the third century the Pauline Epistles were together in a collected form.

Papyrus sheets could not be made to fold into the ordinary quire of, say, sixteen pages, but were either folded singly to form a quire of two pages or laid one on top of the other so that the whole book consisted of one quire. The former method is that of the Gospel codex here, while the latter is that of the Pauline Epistles. In this collection of the 'Apostle,' the Pastoral Epistles are absent, and Hebrews seems to have come after 2 Corinthians, as it does in the Sahidic version. The Gospels and Acts book consisted of 220 pages, 10 by 8 inches, with a single column of writing $7\frac{1}{2}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$, containing 39 lines, and each line about 20 syllables or 50 letters.⁵ The pages in Luke are the best preserved. The portions of Mark were found lying next to the Acts, and therefore the order of the Gospels was probably that of Matthew, John, Luke, Mark, as found in Codex Bezae, the Freer Gospels, and most of the Old Latin versions.

III. *Their witness to the text current in Egypt in*

⁴ The second century codex of Nu, Dt is almost certainly by a Christian, and not Jewish scribe, for the name of Joshua is written *ἰησ*, a practice not likely to be followed by any one but a scribe familiar with *Ἰησοῦς* as a sacred name.

⁵ Two numbered pages in the Acts, and one at the beginning of 1 Th make these calculations and inferences possible.

¹ Streeter, *Four Gospels*, p. 1.

² Review in *Journal Theol. Studies*, Oct. 1933.

³ It will have been noted that the story of the Birth, the Cross, and the Resurrection are all wanting. Lk 22-24 especially might have given us many welcome assurances.

the third century.—To appreciate this we need, as we have seen, to go with Dr. Kenyon back to the work of Hort and the Revisers, and to run briefly through some of the studies and discoveries of the past fifty years.

The work of Hort, followed largely by the Revisers, was to establish the two great vellum codices, Vaticanus (B) and Sinaiticus (S), and their few allies (the 'Neutral' text) as the primary witnesses—and in the case of B, an almost direct witness—for the original documents, and to relegate the great mass of Greek MSS (the 'Antiochian' or 'Byzantine' text) on which the Textus Receptus is based to the secondary place. However preferable the latter may be as a Gospel narrative, the former hold the first place as a Gospel witness. And nothing in the study or discovery of the past fifty years has shaken this position. 'The controversy between Hort and Burgon is dead.'¹ Then side by side with these two groups was a third, the 'Western,' representing a text as old or older than that of the great uncials—'a rather miscellaneous band of authorities,' Latin and Syriac, with Codex Bezae (D) and some minuscules, but supported by the quotations of all the chief Ante-Nicene Fathers and writers, east and west, Justin, Marcion, Tatian, Irenæus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Aphraat, and in Egypt Clement, and sometimes even Origen: it is, as is well known, a type of text characterized by numerous omissions and additions and expansions both of incidents and sayings as well as of explanation or of colouring. Hort's verdict was that, however authentic and valuable many of them may be, they were probably no part of the genuine text. These three groups and verdicts were clear cut, and gave a widespread sense of 'comfortable finality.' And the first discovery, that of the old Syriac palimpsest on Mount Sinai by Mrs. Lewis, corroborated Hort in a remarkable way: it supported the great uncials in most of the notable readings, though it had also a strong 'Western' element with the Curetonian.

But all along a small company of scholars have been at work, collating fresh facts and studying some of the older, and especially the versions. Kenyon mentions especially Rendel Harris, F. C. Burkitt, C. H. Turner, A. Souter, Wordsworth, and White in England, Kirsopp Lake (first trained in England), H. C. Hoskier, and J. H. Ropes in America. And the trend of these studies was twofold—to question the impeccability of B, and to look for the original text in the 'Western' rather than in the 'Neutral' family.

Burkitt, *loc. cit.*

Then in 1900 came Lake's work on the minuscule Cod. 1 and its allies, showing that this MS. of, at the earliest, the tenth century, is not only the leader of an important group, but itself one of our best witnesses. Next in 1912 and 1913 appeared two new almost complete Greek Gospels, the Freer (W) from Egypt, and the rough, uncouth Koridethi (Θ) from a monastery in Georgia. The former has a mixed text—of the Received type in Mt and Lk 8¹³ to end; 'Neutral' in the first part of Luke, and John 5¹² to the end (the beginning of John is a supplemental quire that has more Latin and Coptic affinities). Mk 1¹–5³⁰ is closely allied to the Old Latin, while the rest 'belongs to a different family, the identity of which had not been established at the time of its publication, and of which much will have to be said at a later stage in these lectures.'

In 1914, Hoskier wrote: 'Hitherto we have not known fully the history of textual criticism in Egypt: but every important document, including the new Freer . . . ties the matter more and more down to Egyptian soil.' The Koridethi, with its number of Western readings and Latin affinities was, with 565, attached by Von Soden, wrongly as we shall see, to the Bezan family.

After the War, the next advance was made in 1923 by Lake, following up, with R. P. Blake, his previous study of Cod. 1, by proving that in Mark Θ formed a distinct family with Cod. 1 and its allies, 13 and its allies (the Ferrar group), 565, 700, and 28. As early as 1904 Burkitt in his edition of the Old Syriac² had already isolated these MSS as a 'secondary' group which had remarkable affinities with the Old Syriac, and of the 19 examples he gave, 13 were from S. Mark. Meanwhile Blake had been working on the Old Georgian version, and this, especially the Adysh MS., probably the granddaughter through the Armenian of a better Old Syriac than we possess, was found to be an even stronger member of the family: the Palestinian Syriac Lectionary is another.

Then in 1924 appeared Streeter's *Four Gospels*, which made three specially notable additions to this quest. (1) He had observed how frequently a MS. which had elsewhere the Received Text, had an older one in S. Mark. From its very character, containing little that was not found in the other Gospels, S. Mark would be overlooked, or only slightly or less carefully worked over by the reviser or the weary scribe. From this 'we deduce the following Canon of textual criticism:

² *Codex B and its Allies*, Pt. i. p. 1.

³ *Evang. da Mepharreshe*, ii. pp. 245 ff.

*Research into the pedigree of an MS. should begin with a study of its text of Mark.*¹ (2) He showed that the readings of this new family are found, though to a lesser extent, in the other Gospels; and quoted among other instances one remarkable one, which is clearly right, and B in omitting is clearly wrong,² the addition of Jesus before Barabbas in Mt 27^{16, 17}. We cannot conceive any reason for the addition, while there is, of course, the obvious one for omission—that frequent cause of error in the textual tradition, ‘the offended sense of the pious.’³ (3) Then in going on to study closely the numerous quotations of Origen from S. Mark he made ‘a remarkable discovery, which deserves to be noted as an epoch in Biblical criticism.’ He observed that in the first ten books of the Commentary on S. John, Origen used a text of the type of **MB**, but in the remaining books, and in the Commentary on S. Matt., he used a MS. of the type of **Θ**. Now the significance of this change lies in the fact that Origen wrote the first part of his commentary on S. John in Alexandria, while the rest of it, and that on S. Matt. at Cæsarea in Palestine, whither he had removed in A.D. 231. The conclusion is obvious: at Alexandria he used MSS of the Neutral type, and probably brought away with him the copy of S. John that he was using; and at Cæsarea he found MSS of the type of **Θ** and Cod. 1. In other words, the text of fam. **Θ** may rightly be called the Cæsarean text. ‘There are from time to time books which mark a definite turning-point in the studies to which they relate. Streeter’s *Four Gospels* is such a work in connexion with the textual criticism of the New Testament. Utilizing the work of others over a period of many years past, and adding thereto valuable contributions of his own, he has made good a definite addition to our knowledge, and established a fresh starting-place for further progress. Henceforward the Cæsarean text has an assured place in textual criticism.’

But a closer study came to blur again this clear-

¹ There is a curious example of this in a fourteenth-century Mt. Athos codex, the exemplar of which had a lacuna in Mk 9²⁹-Lk 1⁴⁰ filled in from another MS. The text generally is a Received one, but this ‘patch’ is strongly a member of fam. 1 but in Mk only, and not in the Lucan chapter.

² See Burkitt, *loc. cit.*; McNeile, *Comm. on S. Matt.*

³ Origen in his *Commentary on S. Matthew* discusses the reading, and says that it is absent from many MSS; but this surely implies that it was in the text current in Cæsarea. It certainly offended him, that the sacred name should be borne by a robber, and he does not so quote it in the treatise against Celsus.

cut result. Lake, with his colleagues, R. P. Blake and Mrs. New,⁴ set to work on an edition of the Cæsarean text of S. Mark. He added to the group that ‘hitherto unidentified part’ of the Freer Gospels, a seventh-century Papyrus fragment containing the very interesting Mk 11¹³ (where the Cæsareans, as often, are much divided), and a fuller study of the Georgian evidence: but in one very important point he corrected Streeter’s conclusions from Origen’s quotations. Of the first ten books of the Commentary on S. John on which Streeter had based his observation of Origen’s use of the Neutral text, the first five only were written in Alexandria, and these five contained only scanty and rather equivocal evidence, the quotations, chiefly from ch. 12^{2, 3}, being as much or more Cæsarean than Neutral. Accordingly, it was quite as likely that Origen had used a Cæsarean text in Egypt, found the ‘Neutral’ in Cæsarea, and used it for a time, and then reverted to the Cæsarean, which he himself may, perhaps, have introduced. So after all, the ‘Cæsarean’ text may have had its home in Egypt, though its use by Origen, and in a somewhat debased form by Eusebius, will always make the name appropriate.

Thus once more, the clear-cut conclusions of fifty years ago were called in question. Hort’s theories about B had long been felt to need some modification. It remains still our best single MS.: its scribe must have been a singularly ‘austere’ one, both in his selection of exemplars and in his work, as compared with the majority who put first easy comprehension and the avoidance of offence: the MS. may have had a ‘singularly sheltered history,’ but its text has not escaped harmonization and revision. And now, perhaps in its very home, there had arisen this new family, which might be older and of which the Neutral text may be a later revision. However much the controversy between Hort and Burgon was dead, ‘that between Hort and Lake, if we may so put it, is very much alive.’⁵

And just at this moment in this line of discovery and of study, there appear these Papyrus Gospels of the third century ‘from Egyptian soil.’ Again, what is their witness?

1. As might be expected, from a third-century document, they do not support the Received or Byzantine text. 2. They have a decidedly Cæsarean text in Mark, not so much in the longer readings, as in the small, some 323 affinities with the family in those few chapters. Lake’s available evidence of Origen’s use of such a text in Egypt was very slight: the papyrus strongly reinforces.

⁴ Now Mrs. Lake.

⁵ Burkitt, *loc. cit.*

3. The general character both of the Gospels and Acts is neither markedly Neutral nor Western: ¹ it occupies a half-way position between the two. It has (and this is, of course, especially to be noted for the Acts) none of the more peculiar readings of Codex Bezae and the Harclensian Syriac margins: but there is all through, as in the Sahidic versions, a strong *basic* element, partly Western, partly Cæsarean. 'Thus it is evident that in Egypt as in other parts of the world, texts existed in the third century which were not of the B type. B may still represent a tradition which has come down with little contamination from the earliest times; but if so, the stream ran in a narrow channel and did not water, like the Nile, the whole land of Egypt.' 4. It shares many of the divisions of the Cæsarean group,² hitherto held to be chiefly due to correction to the Received text, and will, of course, greatly help to determine which of these are earlier. It will also now all along be giving valuable assistance in the work that is yet to be done—the study of the Cæsarean text in the other Gospels, a closer study of the Sahidic versions and the quotations of Origen and Eusebius, and the significance of the occasional strong Latin element in the Cæsarean readings, especially in Eusebius, and in ③ 565 in Mark, an element to which the quotations of Clement of Alexandria has all along borne witness—'on Egyptian soil.'

Here are some of the more important variants ³:

With **SB**.—Mk 9²⁴, omit 'with tears'; Lk 9⁸⁵, ὁ ἐκλελεγμένος for ὁ ἀγαπητός; ③ 1, 22, ὁ ἐκλεκτός; Mk 9²³, εἰ δύνῃ without πιστεῦσαι, but the το is also omitted; Lk 9⁵⁵. 56—the shorter reading, 'And he turned and rebuked them; and they went to another village.'

In S. Luke's version of the Lord's Prayer, three clauses are omitted in B. P⁴⁵ has lost seven lines from Lk 11²⁻⁶: but there would not be room for all three.

Against **SB**.—Mk 9²⁹—adds 'and fasting'; Lk 10⁴¹—the shorter reading, 'but one thing is needful' . . . against 'few things are needful (or one).'

Cæsarean.—Mk 8¹⁰ [μαγεδ]αν (cf. Mt 15²¹) with 565, 700 Eus. and the Old Latin, while the other Cæsareans *exc.* W have μαγδαλα; Mk

8¹⁵—the 'leaven of the Herodians'; Mk 8³⁵—omit ἐμοῦ καὶ before τοῦ εὐαγγελίου; Mk 9²—addition from Lk 9²⁹, see below; Lk 11³³—omit 'neither under the bushel,' which seems to have been added from Mt 5¹⁵; Jn 11³³, ἐταράχθη τῷ πνεύματι ὡς ἐμβριμησάμενος, where probably the definite ἐνεβριμήσατο ἑαυτὸν gave offence.

Western.—Lk 9⁸²—see below; 12²⁴—adds τὰ πετεινὰ καὶ before τοὺς κόρακας from Mt., where D and three Old Latins substitute.

Marcionite.—Lk 10²¹—om. καὶ τῆς γῆς, found only in the quotations from Marcion's Gospel in Epiphanius and Tertullian. On the other hand, Lk 9⁵⁴—om. 'as Elias did' with **SB** 700 Old Syriac, Jn 10⁸—om. 'those who came) before me,' with the Syriac, Latin, and the Received text, both possibly owing to the use made of them by the Marcionite in the depreciation of the Old Testament and the prophets.

Of the *new* readings one of the most remarkable is in Lk 9⁵⁰ μὴ κωλύετε· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν καθ' ὑμῶν οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν.

And here are some variants that may be of use to the expositor:

Among the new readings there is a rather unique use of the word ὄχρυς in a somewhat ungrammatical expansion in Lk 11¹⁵, τινες δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐλάλησαν ὄχρυς λέγοντες . . . where the opponents of Jesus are denouncing His gracious work, as due to devil possession, and those loud confident tones betray that they are *fortifying* their prejudices against their conscience.

In Lk 9⁸² we find the same inverted order as in Clement, Cyprian, D, and the Old Latins: οὐδεὶς εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω βλέπων καὶ ἐπιβάλλον τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἐπ' ἄροτρον. The reading certainly looks as perverse as its form: but is the paradox so certainly wrong? We have not here the case of a half-hearted or distracted disciple; the man has not yet *begun* to follow; and the parable would then be something on the lines of those in ch. 14²⁸⁻³³: 'You are trying to start your work with your back to the plough.' If this is so, it is easy to see how readily the text would be altered into what is both an actual common fault in ploughing, and a more common failure in Christian discipleship.

In Mk 9² there is an addition (?) from Lk 9²⁹, only in the form ἐν τῷ προσεύχεσθαι αὐτούς, 'as they were praying,' with the Freer Gospel and the Ferrar Group and the Arabic Diatessaron, while three other Cæsareans and Origen have it with αὐτόν. I remember an address by Canon Kinloch on Prayer Circles, in which he held that the presence

¹ Among the papyrus fragments previously discovered Oxyr. 655 had a notable Western reading in Lk 11⁵² 'hidden (the key)' for 'taken away'; and the famous Michigan one contained in Ac 19 two of the characteristic Bezan additions.

² See Burkitt, *loc. cit.*

³ P⁴⁵ is the official symbol for the Gospel portion of these Papyri.

of that 'inner circle' of the Apostles was intended, not only as a witness but as a spiritual help and support, and in each case, not only in Gethsemane. And so it may have been here on the Holy Mount; and though the flesh was here also too weak to watch and pray all through the night (Lk 9³²), they did not wholly fail their Master, but, as they prayed, were fellow-workers with Him in making the great decision by which He stedfastly set His face to the Cross, and in the glory which followed.

Jn 11²⁵—ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ἀνάστασις, the words καὶ ἡ ζωὴ are omitted by Cyprian 310, the Sinaitic Syriac, one Old Latin, and one of the Palestinian Lectionaries. The saying is so familiar, and has for all of us such solemn and sacred associations, that it is difficult to appreciate any variation: but it may be worth while to make an effort at detachment, and to listen in to the scene as if for the first time; and then it may appear how much greater and grander the single statement is by itself, and that thus it may have been passed on in the Christian tradition side by side with the longer form. We should then have also at the same time a fresh example of the way in which the aged disciple would add to, and blend with, the Master's actual words, the simple Truth they

suggest, and that long years of meditation and experience had proved. If so, the Papyrus would give us here the whole historic Word, though only in part the genuine S. John.

This last found Gospel affords some valuable assurances, and answers some important questions, but it suggests and asks as many more. As Dr. Kenyon says at the close of his lecture: 'Here for the moment the story which I have been trying to put together of fifty years of textual criticism comes to an end; but it is not an end which gives the winding up of the story. On the contrary, as I have tried to show, it leaves several large marks of interrogation to which the attention of scholars is directed. It is very regrettable that the textual criticism of the New Testament does not appear to appeal to the younger generation of scholars so strongly as it did to their predecessors in the nineteenth century. . . . Yet it is a fascinating subject and one in which much good work remains to be done. It is to be hoped that the discovery of the Chester Beatty Papyri, with its mass of new material, may do something to revive interest in a subject of such profound importance as the authentic texts of the original documents of our Christian religion.'

The Message of the Epistles.

Ephesians.

By C. H. DODD, M.A., D.D., RYLANDS PROFESSOR OF BIBLICAL CRITICISM AND EXEGESIS IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER.

It is not necessary to discuss here the critical questions of the true destination and authorship of the writing known as the Epistle to the Ephesians, neither of which can be regarded as beyond controversy.¹ Whoever were the readers for whom it was first designed, its 'message' is for the Church at large; and whether Paul wrote it or not, it represents the mature development of Paul's way of thinking about the Christian religion.

¹ The present writer inclines to accept the Pauline authorship of Ephesians, though not without misgiving, and he is disposed towards the widely accepted view that it was of the nature of a general or circular epistle, for reasons which he has set forth in the *Abingdon Commentary*.

The theme is the glory of Christ in the Church, 'that wonderful and sacred mystery,' in which the unity of a new humanity is revealed as a sign of the ultimate unity of all things in Him. This theme runs through the whole Epistle, which begins with adoration of the eternal purpose of God, and ends with practical counsels for Christians who are called to live within that purpose through all the struggles and temptations of this present world. It falls into two parts, chs. 1-3 and chs. 4-6. The division corresponds to that which is to be observed in other Epistles, between a mainly 'doctrinal' and a mainly 'practical' section. In Galatians and Colossians the first part is largely a controversial exposition of certain points of Christian doctrine,

having in view particular errors which the Apostle wishes to correct. In Romans it contains a comprehensive and reasoned account of Paul's philosophy of the Christian religion. In Ephesians there is no polemic and little reasoned exposition. The first part is a declaration of the gospel as a revealed mystery—an open secret—set in a framework of thanksgiving and prayer.

Almost all the New Testament Epistles begin with thanksgiving and prayer. It was common usage at the time so to begin a letter, but the New Testament writers have consecrated a mere piece of good manners to higher uses. In this Epistle the opening thanksgiving (i³⁻¹⁴) has become a sustained, devout contemplation of the mysteries of the Divine purpose, returning in adoration and praise to God for all 'the wealth of his grace.' The writer reviews the spiritual blessings under which Christians stand (i³); they are ordained to be holy and blameless (v.⁴); they are sons of God (v.⁵); they are redeemed, their sins are forgiven (v.⁷); they know the mystery of God's will (v.⁹). All these spiritual blessings are contemplated, not as anything achieved by men, or even primarily as privileges or distinctions to be enjoyed by them, but as evidences of a Divine purpose which, so to speak, takes the salvation of men in its stride, as it moves towards the great consummation—'to sum up all things in Christ' (v.¹⁰). God is the beginning and the end; all proceeds from 'the counsel of his will' (v.¹¹), and all tends towards 'the praise of the glory of his grace' (v.^{6, 12}). The passage piles up, verse upon verse, words which express the freedom and absoluteness of the Divine will. It is the language of the theology of predestination. More properly, it is the language of the fundamental religious conviction that there is nothing of any power or worth, in man or in his world (or out of it), except what is the work of God and the expression of His will, and *this* is absolute in power and worth. We may (we must) theologize about this conviction, but its primary expression is in terms, not of argumentative theology, but of adoration—'Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who chose us . . . fore-ordained us . . . according to his free choice . . . to the praise of his glory.' The gospel is on one side 'the gospel of your salvation' (v.¹³), but primarily it is 'the gospel of the glory of the blessed God' (i Ti i¹¹).

The final issue of God's glorious purpose lies beyond man and his world. The climax of 'spiritual blessings' is that God has made known to us His will 'to sum up all things in Christ, things in heaven,

and things on earth' (i^{9, 10}).¹ The world of our experience is a world of contradictions, a world of conflicting forces and cross-currents. Such is not the world of God's ultimate design. 'God is not a God of disorder, but of peace' (i Co i⁴⁸³). It is His purpose finally to reconcile all powers in the universe to Himself through Christ (Col i²⁰). As the Church is now one in Christ its Head, so the whole universe is in God's purpose to be one (in the same sense) in Christ the Lord of all. By faith we 'see all things returning to perfection through Him from whom they took their origin.' What we know of Christ is a clue to what we do not know regarding the destiny of the universe.

The thanksgiving concludes by bringing home to the readers of the Epistle their own share, by present experience, in the glorious purpose of God. They heard the word, they believed it, and they received the Divine Spirit (i¹³). This experience is not a direct experience of all that God designs. It is a promise and a pledge (vv.^{13, 14}), to be made good when and as God wills.

Meanwhile, do they even know what it is that they possess? It is possible to have a genuine Christian experience, based on simple faith, with only the most rudimentary understanding of all that is implicit in it. No man, indeed, can hope to get to the bottom of it all, and only God who gave the gift can enlarge our apprehension of what it contains. Thus, as the language in which God's purpose is declared was fittingly the language of praise, so the aspirations of His people are fittingly expressed in the language of prayer—prayer for wisdom and enlightenment, that they may 'know the hope into which they have been called' (i¹⁵⁻¹⁸). That means, not knowledge of themselves, their experience or their achievement, but knowledge of God, His power (i¹⁹), and His love (2⁴). Thus prayer leads to a fresh declaration of what God has done, which in turn passes into prayer again (3^{1, 14}).

The passage at which we have now arrived

¹ 'The things in heaven' are clearly (as in Col i²⁰) the 'principalities and powers' of i²¹ 3¹⁰ and 6¹² (cf. Ro 8³⁸, Col 2¹⁶), identical with the *σπρωγία* or 'elemental spirits' of Gal 4⁹, Col 2²⁰. They are thought of as spiritual beings of superhuman power, possessing a relative independence in the universe as at present constituted, and at least potentially hostile to man's salvation and the purpose of God. They include the 'spiritual forces of wickedness' of 6¹². They represent in mythological form man's consciousness of factors in the universe over which he has and can have no control, but with which he has to reckon (like 'luck' or the 'laws of nature,' or 'economic determinism').

(1¹⁹-3¹³) contains the pith of the thought of the Epistle. Here is the gospel, the Pauline gospel in its mature form, not argued step by step or polemically defended, but set forth in three great declarations: the power of God is revealed in Christ (1¹⁹-2³); the love of God saves man through Christ (2¹-10); the unity of mankind is established in Christ (2¹¹-22). Knowledge of these things is involved in 'knowing what is the hope of our calling.'

First, then, faith rests upon the power of God. Its great enemy is a suspicion that evil, which we know to be so strong, will be too strong for us. But if we look away from ourselves to Christ, we know that God is stronger than all the forces of evil. 'The spiritual forces of wickedness,' which for us are an ever-present reality (6¹²), are for Him broken forces, lying beneath His feet (1²⁰-22). And all that is in Christ (His 'fulness') is present also (potentially) in the Church, which is His Body (1²³). Thus faith goes serenely on its way, sure that whatever we are in ourselves, in Christ (in His Body) we are more than conquerors.

But how comes it that we, foolish, weak, and sinful men, have any part in Christ? It is certainly not due to any virtue that we possess. It is no 'good conscience' that gives us confidence against the power of evil. We are what we are solely by faith in God. Then is faith in itself a virtue or an achievement? No; even that is 'not of ourselves: it is the gift of God' (2⁸). Thus our standing in Christ (and 'the hope of our calling') is in the most absolute sense a matter of grace. 'God, being rich in mercy, because of the great love with which he loved us, made us alive with Christ when we were dead in trespasses' (2⁴, 5). The men we are in Christ (as members of His Body) are as truly and absolutely a new creation of God (2¹⁰) as was the first man. Any good deeds we may do as Christ's members are the work of God and not of ourselves, for He 'made provision beforehand that we should walk in them' (2¹⁰).

So we come back to the thought of the Body of Christ, constituted of men raised from the dead and made anew by the creative power of God. In some ways the most remarkable fact about this Body as an actual historical institution is that it holds in unity men who might naturally be expected to have least in common. That characteristic of the Church was always for Paul significant of its divine character (cf. Gal 3²⁸, Col 3¹¹). A Body in which Jew and Greek, bond and free, civilized man and barbarian, could be members one of another must surely be 'the handiwork of God.' Most

significant of all, he felt, was the reconciliation of Jew and Gentile in the Church (Ro 15⁷⁻¹³). No doubt as a Jew he was intensely, almost morbidly, aware of the depth of the division between his own people and the rest of the world. But if the Jew was bitterly conscious of that division, so was the Gentile. For the typical Roman the Jew was one who cherished *hostile odium adversus omnes*, and he reciprocated it. The feeling between them was that worst kind of hatred which is inspired by mutual contempt. If this Epistle is by Paul, it may well have been written in or about the very year (A.D. 66) in which the piled-up enmity of many generations broke into open war—one of the most atrocious wars in ancient history. But within the Christian Church at that very time Jew and Gentile could live in amity, sharing together the gifts that each could bring into the common stock. God had 'slain the enmity' in Christ (2¹⁶).

The symbol of the division between Jew and Gentile Paul found in the Law, in so far as it was a system of 'commandments contained in ordinances' (2¹⁵). As developed by the stricter Pharisees the Law was a massive bulwark of Jewish nationalism. In observing its provisions the Jew was by every act asserting his separateness from all other peoples. It was in fact his adherence to this peculiar code of behaviour that made him an alien in the civilized world of the time. For him, however, it represented the absolute will of God, and those who did not acknowledge it were without God in the world (2¹²). Now the death of Jesus was the direct result of a collision with the Law, and Paul saw in it a crisis in which the Law asserted its power—and condemned itself. The Christian, whether Jew or Gentile, was accursed from the Law with Christ upon whom its curse fell (Gal 3¹⁰⁻¹⁴). Thus the Cross of Christ 'annulled the law of commandments contained in ordinances' (2¹⁵). Hence within the Christian community that 'middle wall of partition' could no longer exist (2¹⁴), and the way was open for the reconciliation of these two warring sections of the human race. That, however, is only to state the matter negatively. Positively, the important fact is that when a man is 'in Christ' he is neither Jew nor Gentile, but a 'new man' (2¹⁵). As Jew or Gentile, he is dead; as a Christian he is 'God's handiwork' (2¹⁰). The binding link is not lateral, but vertical. It unites Jew and Gentile not primarily with one another, but with God, and therefore with one another. On this basis a society can be built up which is in its very nature a unity, as God Himself is one.

Having regard to some of the most pressing

problems of our time, we may perhaps see here the most immediately pertinent thing that this Epistle has to say to us. How are we to secure reconciliation among men of different nations, races, and classes, who dislike, suspect, and despise one another? How are we to build up, out of them, a real community of mankind? One method is that of mutual accommodation and compromise. English, French and German, Chinese and Japanese may agree, while holding to their separate aims and ideals, to make such mutual concessions that they can live together without coming to blows. That is a useful method, but at best it can only keep the civilized world from falling to pieces while we seek for something more thoroughgoing. Real unity comes only when we are willing to be governed by new aims and ideals which are no longer divisive, but large enough to be common to us all. That is not a matter of official diplomacy, but of the spiritual orientation of individuals and groups. Our whole moral life is built up, as the psychologists say, of 'sentiments.' The 'sentiment' of nation, race, or class, so far as it includes hostility and suspicion towards others, must be disintegrated and replaced by the 'sentiment' for humanity, if we are to become effective members of a world-community. This disintegration and replacement of sentiments is, psychologically speaking, a death and re-birth of the self. The most radical death and rebirth is that of which our Epistle speaks, and nothing short of it will in the long run secure the unity of mankind. The great truth which the Epistle announces is that a real understanding of what Christ has done shows such a new creation to be always possible, because it is the will of God, and His love has provided the way for it. That any section of the Christian Church should lend itself to that intensification of national and racial prejudice which we are witnessing all over the world to-day, would be unthinkable if its members had any conception of the divine ideal of the Church as set forth in the Epistle to the Ephesians—if we 'knew the hope of our calling.'

We return to the text of the Epistle. At the beginning of ch. 3 the writer, having in mind the truths of the gospel which he has just declared with impassioned emphasis, begins afresh—'For this reason, I . . .' But the sentence is never finished. What was he going to say? Clearly he meant to proceed as in 3¹⁴—'For this reason I bow my knees to the Father.' The prayer of 1¹⁶, which merged in the declaration of the power and love of God and the unity of mankind in the Church, is to be resumed, its content made the richer by all

that has passed through the mind meanwhile. But the writer is still possessed by the strangeness and wonder of this miracle, 'that the Gentiles should be fellow-heirs, fellow-members of the Body, fellow-partakers of the promise' (3⁶), and he pauses in the midst of his prayer to dwell once more upon 'the mystery which was hidden from the ages in God,' and is now revealed (3⁵⁻⁹). The Church itself, with its miraculous reconciliation of hostile factors, is a sign to the warring powers of the universe (3¹⁰)—a sign of God's 'manifold wisdom' and of His purpose to sum up all things in Christ.

And so at last the prayer reaches its completion (3¹⁴⁻²¹), and of this nothing need be said, except that it lifts the whole matter out of the realm of reflection and argument into pure aspiration towards knowledge of 'the love of God which is beyond all knowledge.' In knowing the love of God we shall be possessed of all that God is. For this we pray, but God can do more than all our prayers can ask, and prayer in the end returns to sheer adoration.

The effect of the whole Epistle so far has been to lead the readers into a mood of devout and impassioned contemplation, dominated by prayer and praise, in which their present experience as Christian people unfolds itself as a moment in the eternal purpose of God. The objects of His love, they have in His 'manifold wisdom' been made members of the Body of Christ, and so sharers in a destiny whose full significance lies beyond the horizon of the aspiring mind. But they have to live their lives in a yet imperfect world, and their own imperfection is only made more obvious by the contemplation of that which God designs. So the writer directs their attention to the task which the gift of God lays upon them. He has said enough of 'the hope of their calling'; he now begs them 'to live worthily of the calling.' The second half of the Epistle is an exhortation in that sense. It keeps closely to the lines of the thought of the first half, translating its religious convictions into ethical precepts.

We begin with the idea of unity itself. The Church is a Body which in its very nature is one (4⁴⁻⁶), for its members have the one God for their Father (cf. 1⁵ 3¹⁴), Christ as their one Lord (cf. 1²²), and by one Spirit they have access to God (cf. 2¹⁸). They have a common faith and hope, and by the common sacrament of baptism they have entered upon their new life. It remains for them to preserve the unity of the Spirit (they have not to create it), and so to realize the unity of the Body. This demands the elementary virtues of

humility, gentleness, patience, and tolerance (4²), without which no group of imperfect people in an imperfect world can ever live in unity with one another. Such virtues are secure only if they are founded in love; and Christian people, who are what they are because God has loved them, and whose final prayer is that they may know the love of God which passes knowledge, are at least in touch with the source of love. How love can shape the concrete behaviour of Christian people will be set forth later.

Within the one body there is differentiation of function, and individual members are equipped for their functions by the grace of God given in varying measure (4⁷). His gifts of grace have been mediated to men through Christ's incarnation and exaltation (4⁸⁻¹⁰). In particular, God has ordained and equipped a ministry in its varying grades of apostle, prophet, preacher, pastor, and teacher (4¹¹). This ministry performs an essential function in the Church. It is there 'to train the laity for service'¹ and so to promote the building up of Christ's Body (4¹²). Its function will remain until the entire membership has fully attained the unity which is now implicit in the faith, until, that is to say, all Christian people know Christ fully, and the whole Church has grown into the full stature of the divine humanity revealed in Him (4¹³). Meanwhile, the ministry is there to secure that Christian people are not like children at the mercy of chance currents of thought or of popular fallacies (4¹⁴). To think truly as well as to love the brethren is necessary to the health of the Church. While truth and love together direct the life of Christians, the Church will grow into its full unity and perfection through the individual contribution of each member (4^{15, 16}).

All this is thoroughly realistic and practical. The writer has seen and communicated to his readers a lofty vision of the Church as it is in the Divine purpose, but he is under no illusion about the Church as it actually exists. It is very far from perfect, and its unity is always liable to be broken by the faults and stupidities of Christians. (Paul had had bitter experience of that!) He is deeply concerned that his readers shall lay to heart the primary importance of unity in the Body, and that such unity, though no one can expect it to be perfect here and now (for the whole Christian

experience is after all only a promise and a pledge), should at least be a visibly growing unity.

In our own time the unity of the Church is scarcely visible at all. If the Church is meant to be a sign to a divided world (3¹⁰) of God's power to bring peace out of disorder, it is a very dim and problematical sign except to the eye of faith. If we as Christians are at all seriously concerned about the urgent problem of the unity of mankind, we surely cannot be indifferent to our own unhappy divisions. We are not, in fact, in a condition in which 'the whole Body, fitted and framed together by that which each joint supplies, according to the due working of each individual part, brings about the growth of the Body, and builds itself up in love.' And because we are not, the Church is a sadly ineffective witness to unity and peace in a distracted world. Once again, therefore, the Epistle speaks pertinently to our own situation. An honest consideration of what is here said, regarding the common foundations of our Church life, the gifts of God available for us, and the conditions under which they may be fruitfully used, should lead us to sincere repentance and to serious efforts towards the visible unity of Christ's divided Body.

A Church which is growing healthily according to this view of it will display an unmistakable development of Christian character in its members. Negatively, this will mean discarding the sinful practices which belong to unredeemed human nature (4¹⁷⁻²²). Positively, it will mean cultivating those virtues which are implicit in the 'new humanity, created on God's plan in righteousness and true piety' (4^{23, 24}, cf. 2¹⁰). This leads to a summary sketch of Christian ethics. It is to be observed how in this sketch the ideas and even the language of the first part of the Epistle are echoed over and over again—membership in the Body (4^{25, 28} 5²¹), unity (5²⁵⁻³³), life in Christ and His lordship of the Body (5^{8, 10, 17, 22, 23} 6^{1, 5-9, 10}), love (4³² 5^{2, 25}), the Spirit (4³⁰ 5¹⁸ 6^{17, 18}), the Christian hope and promise (4³⁰ 5⁵), victory over the powers of evil (6¹³). Ethical conduct is not something added on to religious experience; it is the visible sign and consequence of such experience.

Because of what the gospel is, Christians, being members of one Body, must be frank and sincere in their dealings with one another (4²⁵). If they lose their temper momentarily, they must not cherish anger, for that is a sin against the Body (4^{26, 27}). In the economic field, the desire to supply the needs of other members of the Body will both eliminate the motive to dishonest gain and inspire

¹ The clause *πρὸς τὸν καθαρισμὸν τῶν ἁγίων εἰς ἔργον διακονίας* is best taken as a single whole, the words *εἰς ἔργον διακονίας* defining the end of the *καθαρισμὸς*. The work of *καθαρισμὸς* belongs to the ministry, and the *ἅγιοι*, who are its objects, render the *διακονία*.

hard work at an honest job (4²⁸). When Christians converse together, they should be building up the Body. 'Rotten' talk is an affront to the Spirit whereby the Body is created and maintained (4²⁹⁻³⁰). Bitterness, rancour and malice are excluded by the obligation to be kind, compassionate and forgiving, as Christ is to us (4³¹⁻⁵²). Sensuality of every kind is incompatible with the destiny of Christians as 'heirs of the kingdom of Christ and of God': in Christ they have come out into the light, and all that is shameful and furtive belongs to the bad past (5³⁻¹⁴). They must be alert to make the most of every opportunity, and intelligent in discerning what God's will is for the particular situation (5¹⁵⁻¹⁷). Over-indulgence in wine is forbidden. The 'intoxication' of the Spirit brings that true exaltation of the emotions which drunkenness shamefully simulates¹ (5¹⁸), and if emotion seeks outlet in song, there is music which has a spiritual quality and is a form of worship (5¹⁹).

Finally, the principle which must govern all social relations among Christians is that of mutual subordination, springing out of the subordination of all to Christ (5²¹).² The Christian may be a member of various social groups, and in particular of the family or household, which is indeed the natural unit of society. The household here considered is naturally the typical household of Græco-Roman society, in which the framework is supplied by the relations of husband and wife, parents and children, master and slaves. The New Testament scarcely notices industrial slavery as such (it was of diminishing importance in the first century). The domestic slavery of which it speaks was an integral part of the family life of the time. The slave was as much a member of the *familia* (οἶκος) as the child. The principle of mutual subordination is intended to be applied to all these domestic relations, although it is not fully worked out (for in what follows the wife is subject to the husband, the child to the parent, and the slave to the master, in a way which is not reciprocal). Yet it has at least gone so far that the independent claims of the wife, the child, and the slave, over against the predominant partners in each case, are more

adequately recognized than they were in current ethics (5²²⁻⁶⁹).

It is in regard to marriage and the relations of husband and wife that the treatment is most original and significant (5²²⁻³³). The Epistle is concerned all through with the theme of unity, as the divine ideal for man and the universe. The most perfect unity known to natural human experience is marriage, a unity both physical and spiritual. The writer sees in it an analogue (or more than an analogue) of the most sacred unity of Christ and the Church. He has already compared that unity to the organic unity of a body. Thus Christ is to the Church as a man is to his own body. A third term is now added to the comparison. As Christ is to the Church, so is husband to wife. Husbands should love their wives as Christ loves the Church—as a man loves and cherishes his own body, for Christ loves the members of His Body (5²⁸⁻³⁰). The love of Christ is a self-sacrificing love, and a love which has always in view the highest good of its objects. Such should be the love of husband for wife (5²⁵⁻²⁷). The Church dedicates itself in loving submission to Christ. Such should be the love of wife for husband (6²²⁻²⁴). The Scripture declares that man and wife are 'one flesh' (5³¹, quoting Gn 2^{23, 24}), and so Christ and the Church form one spiritual being (cf. 1 Co 6¹⁷). Thus the natural is taken up into the spiritual. Marriage becomes the sacrament of divine love (5³²). This teaching at once sets up the highest ideal for marriage, and invokes the experience of wedded love to illuminate the mystery of the love of God in Christ and the unity which it creates.

The treatment of the relations of parent and child is slighter, but we note the demand that fathers should not exasperate their children, as implying a recognition of the personality of the child to which it would be difficult to find a parallel in ancient ethics (6⁴). In regard to slavery, the point is made that master and slave alike are slaves of Christ. The slave who renders his services as to Christ (whose service is perfect freedom) is so far a free and responsible personality (6⁵⁻⁸); and the master who acknowledges Christ as his own Master will not affront the rights of personality in his slave (6⁹). But here the sketch of social relationships remains a mere outline.

The survey of Christian ethics is now complete so far as it goes. It is no systematic or reasoned treatment of the subject. It does no more than exemplify the way in which the Christian faith moulds character and conduct in some of the

¹ There is probably an allusion to religious or ritual intoxication, which in paganism was quite commonly regarded as a form of possession by the Divine.

² V. 21 begins a new paragraph. The participle ὑποτασσόμενοι is to be construed (in accordance with a recognized Hellenistic usage) as an imperative, and is the principal verb of the sentence: 'Be subject one to another in reverence for Christ.' This general maxim is then exemplified in what follows.

permanent or recurrent situations of life. Its precepts have full cogency only for those who know something of what it means to be within the Body of Christ, and for them it is less a code of behaviour than a suggestive stimulus to work out for themselves what it is to be a Christian in such a world as this.

It remains to remind the readers that the Christian life is always a struggle. Christ has indeed put the powers of evil under His feet, but

for the Christian they are still active enemies to be encountered. The conflicts in which he is involved are part of the process through which the universe is being brought into the unity and peace of the kingdom of God (6^{11, 12}). He must therefore fight like a good soldier of Jesus Christ; and he knows where to find weapons for the battle (6¹³⁻¹⁸).

With a request for prayer and a brief personal note and greeting the Epistle closes (6¹⁹⁻²⁴).

Literature.

A TEXT-BOOK IN APOLOGETICS.

The Christian Belief in God (Hodder & Stoughton; 16s. net) completes what Principal Alfred E. Garvie calls his *magnum opus*. In 1925 he published as a contribution to dogmatics his 'Christian Doctrine of the Godhead,' and in 1930 as a contribution to ethics his 'Christian Ideal for Human Society.' Now appears a contribution to apologetics, and he would ask us to regard the three volumes as forming a Systematic or Constructive Theology. In them he has gathered together the study, reflection, and teaching of the last thirty years in connexion with Hackney and New College, in the University of London.

We may allow the claim that the three volumes cover the ground of Systematic Theology, the present volume to be taken first, and the other two in the order of their publication. We may also allow that the three volumes make useful textbooks. But it can hardly be said, and Dr. Garvie would not make the claim, that they compose a formal systematic unity.

How has Dr. Garvie conceived the task of apologetics? In view of two tendencies to be avoided by the Christian theologian—the isolation of Christianity from other religions, and the isolation of religion from other human functions—he deals in the first, the historical, part of his volume with the relation of Christianity to other religions, and in the second, the philosophical part, with the relation of religion to other human functions. Inasmuch as reason is the term generally employed to describe the organ of the ideals of Truth, Beauty, and Holiness, he would describe his book simply

and 'briefly as being concerned with the relation of religion and reason.

The positions reached by Dr. Garvie in the first part are: (1) man is everywhere religious, and needs religion for the completion of his personality; (2) religion is a relation to an object, other than the world and man, which may be variously described as the numinous, the superhuman, the supernatural, the divine; (3) religion has evolved towards the conception of divine unity, of which pantheism, deism, and monotheism are variant conceptions.

In the second part the standpoint is one of philosophical realism, affirming that man is aware and apprehensive of reality, but that, in the comprehension and explanation of reality, awareness, apprehension, or intuition is completed by reason. In thus recognizing the ontological function of reason and the ultimately rational nature of reality the realism here adopted is also idealism. From this philosophical position Dr. Garvie seeks confirmation in the other activities of human personality of the affirmation of religion that God is.

The discussions, which are largely historical, range over a wide field. In the first part, dealing with the history of religious belief, chapters on the origin and development of religion lead up to a useful chapter on the 'Values of Religion,' in which a comparative estimate of religions is essayed. In the second part, there is a certain rehabilitation of the traditional theistic 'proofs,' and chapters on Æsthetics, Mystics, Theodicy, and Theism follow upon chapters treating of Ontology, Cosmology, and Teleology.

Dr. Garvie is so anxious to be comprehensive,

and refers to so many writers and their opinions, that his book requires patient reading if his constructive views are to be elucidated. Indeed, his text often seems in parts to be the harvest of a busy reviewer rather than the construction of a quiet thinker. He has certainly handled most of the recent literature on the subjects of which he treats, and in this his book should serve the student well. It abounds in quotations, long and short, and in references for further study. We observe that Dr. Garvie has made diligent use of THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF RELIGION AND ETHICS and acknowledges his indebtedness to the articles on Beauty, Teleology, and other subjects.

We congratulate Dr. Garvie on the completion of his attempt at a Constructive Theology, 'not common,' as he truly says, 'in the English language,' and commend this new volume to the attention of the teacher and the student.

EUSEBIUS OF CÆSAREA.

Eusebius Pamphili (Heffer; 4s. 6d. net) is a study of the first Christian historian and his writings from the practised pen of Professor F. J. Foakes-Jackson. Forty years ago Dr. Foakes-Jackson published a Manual of Church History, thirty years ago a History of the Hebrews. The latter work he followed up three years ago with a study of Josephus, who would guide us in the obscure period of the rise of post-exilic Judaism. The former work he now follows up with a study of Eusebius of Cæsarea, who would guide us in the obscure period of the rise of the Christian Church.

The volume before us consists of five essays based on lectures delivered at Lennoxville, Canada, and at Strasbourg. They are entitled respectively, The Background, The Life of Eusebius, First Five Books of the History, Rest of the History and the Life of Constantine, Eusebius' Other Works. They reveal Dr. Foakes-Jackson once more as a scholar who wears his learning lightly. We admire in particular the masterly and attractive way in which he summarises the movements of Church History.

It is Dr. Foakes-Jackson's hope that these essays will encourage a younger scholar than himself to carry out a project which had long been in his mind. It was to provide a memorial of Bishop Lightfoot's work in Church History in the shape of a volume which would assist future students to understand Eusebius. The volume should be prefaced by Lightfoot's article on 'Eusebius of

Cæsarea' in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, and contain an estimate of Eusebius in all his different capacities, summaries of all his genuine works, due notice of all the works which have been attributed to him, and an explanation of his system of chronology and exegesis of Scripture. 'This would be a worthy monument of England's most learned and generous bishop.'

THE HEART OF THE BIBLE.

Mrs. Jeannie B. Thomson Davies, M.A., has speedily followed up the first volume of her three-volume series on 'The Heart of the Bible,' to which we called editorial attention in the September issue, by a second volume entitled *The Literature of the Jewish People* (Allen & Unwin; 5s. net). This volume, which covers the period between Nehemiah and the last century before Christ, includes Nehemiah and Ezra, the Priestly Narrative and Code, Ruth and Jonah (under the significant rubric 'Literature of Protest'), Job, and other Wisdom Books (including Ecclesiasticus and the Wisdom of Solomon), the Psalms, Chronicles, Esther, Daniel, Judith, Maccabees, and a brief discussion on the Formation of the Canon. As in the former volume, the author's aim is to let the Bible speak for itself: consequently much of the book is occupied with selections, sometimes brief, sometimes generous, but always happy and relevant, from the Biblical books themselves. The selection from the Psalms is particularly happy, and all the selections are introduced by apt comments which reveal Mrs. Davies's thorough grasp of the modern attitude to the Bible. She distinguishes, e.g., between the two views of the conquest—the genuinely historical view that it took a long time, and the later idealistic view of it as achieved within a single generation. Of the phrase 'The Lord hardened Pharaoh's heart' she frankly says that the man who wrote it had wrong ideas about God, attributing to the direct action of Jehovah 'the psychologically natural result of Pharaoh's stubborn pride and thwarted ambition.' Again, the Hebrews did not suffer from the great pestilence which attacked the Egyptians, 'perhaps because of their different diet.' Stories like those of Balaam's talking ass, though not to be taken literally, have a certain religious significance, as showing us 'what men once believed about God and His power in dumb creatures.' The value of Mrs. Davies's book lies in bringing its readers face to face with the very words of the Bible in their intelligible chronological sequence, and in presenting the substance

of the Bible in a way which an educated reader would welcome. Its sweet reasonableness is its own commendation, and we look forward with interest to the third volume, which will deal with the literature of the New Testament.

THE COUNTER-REFORMATION.

The Reformation of the sixteenth century had a large measure of success; why was its success so incomplete? It gained the adherence of a considerable portion of Western Christendom; why did it not embrace all? Primarily because, while in the opening years of the sixteenth century practically all thinking people were at one in their demand for a reformation of the Church, they were by no means at one in their ideas of a reformation. The Reformed cause was speedily hindered by its own deep and mutually hostile divisions. Against what to their minds was a rebellion, the more conservative forces waged a campaign of reassertion of Catholic principles. This campaign is known as the Counter-Reformation. It is important to observe that the movement had two sides. On the one hand, it was an attack upon Protestantism with a view to rehabilitate the threatened authority of the Roman See and all that went therewith. On the other hand, it was a real reformation which made such changes upon the Church, and more especially upon the priesthood and religious orders, as satisfied a multitude who had been clamouring for reform. The Counter-Reformation, to secure both its aims, furbished up some old weapons and devised some new ones. Of the latter by far the most successful was the Order of Jesuits.

To tell the story in reasonable compass is somewhat of a feat. For it will not suffice to confine oneself to a general review. The Counter-Reformation was curiously unequal in its measure of success in various countries. Hence its methods and its success here and there must be specifically detailed if we are to have some real understanding of the situation.

We give a very hearty welcome to Dr. B. J. Kidd's brilliant attempt to do ample justice to the whole question in *The Counter-Reformation, 1550-1600* (S.P.C.K.; 8s. 6d. net). Here the reader will find as objective and unbiassed an account as is humanly possible. Dr. Kidd here, as in his former works, exhibits the faculty of making a past situation live before us; of marshalling the relevant facts so as to exhibit their real significance; and very markedly preserving balance between

the generalities on which so many are tempted to ride off, and the particulars which in less skilful hands are apt to become bewildering and tedious. The book is carefully documented. We are grateful for it, and most cordially recommend it not only to the student but to the ordinary reader.

ISLAM.

In *The Jewish Foundation of Islam* (Jewish Institute Press, 40 W. 68th St., New York), Professor C. C. Torrey of Yale reveals the same independence of judgment as he has already displayed in his studies of Ezra, Second Isaiah, and Ezekiel. The book, which embodies the Hilda Stich Stroock Lectures, deals in five successive chapters with the Jews in Arabia, the Genesis of the New Faith, Allah and Islam in Ancient History, the Narratives of the Koran, and Mohammed's Legislation. The general thesis of the lectures is that the great bulk of the material of the Koran is of Jewish origin, and that it had been mediated to Mohammed by Jewish teachers. He knew very little about the Christians, and hardly anything about their Scriptures, and such Christian elements as are present in the Koran are derived from Jews; all this as against those who, like Wellhausen, claim that Mohammed received his first and chief impulse from Christianity. 'Pagan' rites and customs were also deliberately incorporated in the Koran, in so far as they were not incompatible with strict monotheism and civilized usage. But the preponderating influence is Jewish, the amount of material from Jewish sources being 'truly astonishing.' Much of the legislation is suggested by that of the Old Testament, and Dr. Torrey expounds at length Mohammed's fantastic use of many of its narratives. He makes an interesting contribution to the problem how the Jews, whose presence is pre-supposed throughout the Koran, came to be in that part of Arabia: his answer is that they are the descendants of Hebrew trading settlers who migrated to the Hijaz in the sixth century B.C., after the collapse of the Judean state, attracted as they may well have been to Teima, the great trading centre to which Nabonidus had transferred his royal residence. Dr. Torrey differs from many scholars in believing that Mohammed was far from being an unlettered man, and that his messages were obtained through self-hypnotism, of which he had acquired the technique. This is a learned and stimulating book.

A BIG LITTLE BOOK.

The Teaching Parson and his People, by Mr. John R. Lumb (S.P.C.K.), is a comparatively small book in bulk, and costs only 3s. 6d. net, but it is one of the wisest and most useful books that have appeared for long on the subject of religious education. The writer is the Director of Religious Education in the Diocese of Blackburn, and he has been impelled to write his book because he could not find any other that said what he urgently wanted to hear said to the clergy. Mr. Lumb knows a great deal about the parson as he is, about the Sunday School as it is, and about the religious teaching in the day school as it is, and if what he says here were only digested and followed there would be a remarkable change for the better in all three! He does not deal in vague advice. He always has his eye on the object. In the chapter on 'the learning parson,' or rather the studying parson, his counsel is so definite, so wise, so practical that a minister's life would become something entirely new if he would only listen. The chapters on the Sunday School and on the worship of the children are rich in suggestiveness and real helpfulness. And the ideal of the writer, to set before the clergy the blessed aim of a teaching ministry, is expounded with such kindness, shrewdness, and earnestness that it will bring a blessing wherever and whenever this book is read.

Behind the backwoods of Australia lies the vast unwatered inland which is one of the least known and most sparsely populated regions of the globe. There the Australian Inland Mission carries on an arduous and romantic work. *The Man from Oodnadatta*, by the Rev. R. B. Plowman (Angus & Robertson; 6s. net), is an unvarnished but most absorbing tale of a parochial round made on camel-back, covering over 2500 miles and extending over five months. The 'Man' himself is a pioneer padre whose parish exceeds the combined area of Great Britain and Ireland and is populated by four hundred whites, to many of whom his coming is their only link with the outside world. His descriptions of the country and the settlers are exceedingly vivid.

The Rev. George Jackson is already well known to a large public by his attractive writings on more or less familiar subjects, but probably he has not done anything more charming than his new book,

Half-Hours in a Library (Epworth Press; 3s. 6d. net). What a delightful and seductive title that of the first chapter is: 'Books I can reach without Rising'! Of course it is concerned with dictionaries and similar fascinating works. Some odd Corners of a Library; a Professor among his Books; George Gissing; Good, but not for the Prayer Meeting—how can any one resist such invitations? The papers are 'fugitive' (they were all weekly contributions to *The Methodist Recorder*), but the writing is so pleasant and casual, a sort of chat over the fire, that you become absorbed at once wherever you open the book. This kind of undress essay used to be far commoner than it is to-day, and no kind is more delightful. There are all sorts of pleasure and profit awaiting the fortunate reader of this volume.

Still another 'reply' to Mr. G. B. Shaw's 'Black Girl' book has appeared, this time, surprisingly, by Dr. W. R. Matthews, *The Adventures of Gabriel in his Search for Mr. Shaw* (Hamish Hamilton; 2s. 6d. net). At St. Peter's suggestion Gabriel disguises himself as a private detective, and goes in search of the real Mr. Shaw. He is hard to find, and when found he is revealed as a good deal smaller than he thinks himself. The only excuse for such a book is that it is clever and amusing, and makes a point. This is both clever and amusing—was it really worth writing? Mr. St. John Ervine says of it that it is 'the best reply to Mr. Shaw I have read.' Well, we can imagine a better, and in any case to make fun, even good fun, of Mr. Shaw is not likely to do much to counter his thrusts at the Bible. By the way, the illustrations are really good.

Stanley Jones is a writer of 'best sellers.' This is now taken for granted, so that the publishers feel confidence in issuing his new book in the 'first English edition.' Well, it is a good book—*Christ and Human Suffering* (Hodder & Stoughton; 4s. net). It is a good book not because it solves the age-long problem of suffering, nor even has much originality of thought in the suggestions it makes, but for such things as these: its frank recognition of the magnitude of the problem, its candid and sympathetic appreciation and criticism of the attitude to suffering commended in the great world-religions, its warning that Christian thought on the subject is too often befogged by paying overmuch heed to certain Old Testament passages instead of concentrating on Christ's teaching and life, its deep earnestness, its limpid style, and last,

but by no means least, its extraordinary store of illustrations drawn sometimes from the author's wide reading, oftener from his personal experiences in the East.

Many people find help as well as interest in the meditations which the Rev. James Reid of Eastbourne contributes to 'The British Weekly,' and they, as well as others, will be glad to have a permanent selection in published form. The book is suitably called *The Springs of Life* (Hodder & Stoughton; 5s. net), and the sum of all its teaching, Dr. Reid tells us, is that if we seek the will of God He will discover Himself to us as the abiding reality of life. Dr. Reid's gift reminds us of Dr. George Morrison. There are the same original touch, the same spiritual outlook, and the same brevity. These are gracious and edifying utterances.

How Can I Find God? by the Rev. Leslie D. Weatherhead, M.A. (Hodder & Stoughton; 3s. net), is a welcome and valuable addition to the 'Westminster Books.' The writer very wisely does not attempt anything in the way of apologetics, but proceeds to give direct personal counsel and guidance to the seeking soul. In the first half of his book he raises the very pertinent question, 'Are we hiding from God?' In half a dozen short chapters he searches through the lurking places where the uneasy soul takes refuge in its attempt to escape from God. Having thus, as it were, driven the seeking soul out into the open, he next deals more positively with the question, 'How can I find God?' Can't I find Him in Nature, in the service of man, in the services and sacraments of the Church? All these may be found helpful, but the seeking soul must pass through to something more inward, must come face to face with God in a personal venture of faith and consecration. The chapter on 'Where shall I begin?' ought to give real guidance to seekers after God, and the whole book may be commended both to those who seek and to those who have already sought and found, for it is well fitted to let daylight into the secret places of the heart and stimulate to fresh devotion.

Most of our religious denominations have their Year-books giving in an elaborate scale all the information that relates to them. This has not satisfied the Rev. D. P. Thomson, M.A., minister of the Gillespie Memorial Church, Dunfermline. He has prepared a volume of five hundred pages of

small type entitled *The Scottish Churches' Handbook* (Lassodie Press; 5s. net), which is intended to be a definite contribution to interdenominational understanding and fellowship, and a practical guide for ministers, office-bearers, and members of all the Scottish Churches and for busy men in every field of religious and social service. Mr. Thomson has justified his claim to have prepared a most readable and reliable special work of reference. He and his large body of assistants are to be congratulated.

The Report of the American Appraisal Commission on Foreign Missions has created something of a sensation, not least in the mission field, and in '*Re-Thinking Missions*': *An Answer from India*, Principal J. F. Edwards, of the Union Theological College, Poona, has indited a vigorous reply. While acknowledging gratefully the constructive suggestions in the Report, Principal Edwards joins issue on the main point: Is Christianity a unique Gospel for the World? The writer has had twenty-five years' experience of work in India, as Bishop Badley points out in a preface (Lutterworth Press; 6d.).

In *Evolution or Creation?* by Sir Ambrose Fleming, D.Sc., F.R.S. (Marshall, Morgan & Scott; 3s. 6d. net), the author opposes the doctrine of evolution as an explanation of fundamental origins. It is in contradiction to the teaching of Scripture, it cannot explain the source of matter, life or mind, and, insisting on man's kinship with the beasts, it is powerless to give us any hope of a life beyond the grave. Sir Ambrose Fleming has quite a respectable status as a scientist, and on a question of evidence would be heard with deference. But the fact that many convinced evolutionists (like the late Sir Arthur Thomson) are earnest religious men seems to discount the conclusions of this book, not to speak of the obvious facts that evolution does not profess to deal with such a question as immortality, and that the Bible is not a book of science but is solely concerned with religion. But it is well that the side of the argument represented here should be stated and respectfully considered.

Of the *History of Britain from the Flood to A.D. 700* (Marshall Press; 3s. 6d. net) it is sufficient to say that it is a reprint without alteration of part of a work written by Mr. Richard Williams Morgan in 1857.

A book that can claim to be 'the outcome of a

life's experience spread over many years, and now drawing towards its earthly close,' has a right to be heard, and this is what Mr. Edward Grubb, M.A., says of *Flowers of the Inner Life: Brief Studies of the Christian Way* (Methuen; 3s. 6d. net). The purpose of the book is not argument but witness. It tells what Christianity means to the inner life of the writer. There is a fine breadth and tolerance in these 'studies.' They are based on the Bible, but they are really the expression of a very beautiful spirit of reverence and faith. None of the meditations will take more than two minutes to read aloud, and there are about a hundred and forty of them.

Dr. Svend Aage Pallis, Librarian in the Royal Library, Copenhagen, is an authority on the mysterious and elusive Mandæans, and has made notable contributions to our knowledge of the sect. He has now produced an *Essay on Mandæan Bibliography* (Milford; 16s. net). It is the fruit of many years' laborious and scholarly investigation. It embraces all the books and articles on the subject of the Mandæans that have appeared since 1560 to nearly our own day. More valuable than the mere cataloguing of that great number of writings in their chronological order is the long introduction, which is a history of the discovery of facts as to the Mandæans, their views and their cultus, and of the various theories as to their origin and relationship to other religions, such as Parseeism, Gnosticism, and later Judaism.

For two years a body of experts, comprising the 'Education and Service' Committee of the National Sunday School Union has been studying the various aspects of Sunday School life and activities, as well as the important problem of Bible teaching in day schools. The result of this study appears in a volume entitled *Christian Education in the Sunday School, and Bible Study in Day Schools*, (N.S.S.U.; paper covers, 2s. 6d. net). The subjects dealt with are such as these: 'The Nature of Christian Education,' 'Grading,' 'Training of Teachers and Ministers,' 'The Church and the Sunday School,' 'Worship in the Sunday School,' 'Youth Organisations.' Among the writers are E. H. Hayes, B. A. Yeaxlee, Carey Bonner, and G. Hamilton Archibald. There does not seem to be anything startlingly new in this book, or anything that these writers have not said elsewhere. But there is a great deal that is urgently needing to be said again and again. And it is said here with persuasiveness and authority.

That entrancing series 'The Library of Romance' has at last received a long overdue addition in the form of *The Romance of Missionary Pioneers*, by Mr. Norman J. Davidson (Seeley, Service & Co.; 6s. net). Why this enticing subject has not found a place in this series sooner is a mystery, for it is one on which a score of books of romance might be written. The writer has wisely, we think, chosen to lead us along the more unfrequented paths so that his tales will be fresh to most readers. The difficulty of selection must have been great, but no partiality is shown to any place or people. We are taken in swift succession from the highlands of China to the wilds of British Columbia, and from the heart of Africa to the South Sea islands. It is a splendid gift-book for the young, attractively got up and well supplied with illustrations.

A rather original book for children is *Your Sacred Body*, by Catherine Cotton, illustrated (admirably) by H. M. Pemberton, A.R.C.A. (S.P.C.K.; 5s. net). The Lambeth Conference of 1930 stated that 'it is important that, before a child's emotional reaction to sex is awakened, definite information should be given in an atmosphere of simplicity and beauty.' That has been done here very successfully. The book is just physiology made perfectly clear and extraordinarily interesting. Why we can stand up; Hinges: or, Why we can bend; Miles and Miles of Garden Hose; Twin Cameras (the eyes); a Drum—these titles show how the physical facts of our bodily structure and functions can be placed before young children.

At a Convention held at Cromer in the summer of this year the subject of Conference was 'The Cross in Human Life,' and the addresses have been collected and published under the title *Christ our Redeemer* (S.P.C.K.; 2s. 6d. net). We have referred in the 'Notes of Recent Exposition' to one of the essays, and from the account given of it the quality of the book may be guessed. The writers are the Bishop of Ripon, the Dean of Manchester, the Ven. V. F. Storr, the Rev. R. O. P. Taylor, Canon Buchanan, and Canon Raven. The subjects are all concerned with the central theme, the Cross in itself and in its relations with the world and with ourselves. These Conventions are useful when they are given up, like this one, to a single large subject, and the challenge to faith in this volume can only issue in both enlightenment and inspiration.

An excellent course of lectures to a Bible Class or of sermons to youth might be based on the Bishop of Jarrow's *Completeness in Christ: A Study of Man's Needs* (S.P.C.K. ; 3s. 6d. net). Dr. Gordon adopts MacDougall's psychological classification of human instincts or propensities, and shows how each and all of them find true outlet and expression under the guidance of Christ. A short simply written work for which we wish a large circulation.

The Student Christian Movement Press, which, under its able editor, has been making large strides in enterprise, is issuing a series entitled 'The Torch Library,' of familiar and tried works at a popular price. The first to reach us is the admirable book by the Very Rev. Principal Cairns, *The Faith that Rebels*, of which it need only be said that its powerful argument for the miracles of Jesus has brought reinforcement to the faith of many. In this cheaper edition we hope it will reach a wider public and enter on a new lease of life. The other volumes promised are F. R. Barry's 'Christianity and Psychology,' Dr. Fosdick's 'The Modern Use of the Bible,' the Rev. Hugh Martin's 'Christian Social Reformers of the Nineteenth Century,' Dr. Oldham's 'Christianity and the Race Problem,' and 'Everyday Religion,' by E. S. Woods. The price of each book is 3s. 6d. net.

The Rev. V. A. Demant, B.Litt., B.Sc., is well known as an authority on industrial and social questions. In *God, Man and Society* (S.C.M. ; 6s. net), he has written an introduction to Christian Sociology. His aim is to present it 'not as a supererogatory department of Christian teaching in a specially critical situation, but a necessary aspect of Christian Theology and a condition of continued vitality in the Church's pastoral and prophetic office.' His criticism of the present impasse in the industrial world is most powerful and searching. As a follower of Major Douglas he is particularly severe on high finance. Change for the better 'depends primarily upon the dethronement of plutocracy whose heart is no longer in Agriculture or in Industry but in the Bank. As money is the most social in essence of all institutions, its use in the service of monopoly is the most anti-social force that can be conceived.' It is perhaps inevitable that in a situation so baffling as the present this book should be fuller of questions than of answers, of criticism than of construction ; and

one could have welcomed a little more crispness of style and less of the ponderous jargon of sociology. But it is an uncommonly stimulating and arresting work, written with fullness of knowledge and deep insight.

If the crucial question of to-day is the validity of the Christian ethical standard, then *Morality on Trial*, by the Rev. Hugh Martin, M.A. (S.C.M. ; 3s. 6d. net), is a timely book. Its author is the well-known editor of the Student Christian Movement Press, who has already made important contributions to the literature of ethical Christianity. In the present volume he successfully vindicates the claim of religion to be the necessary basis of morality, and in the last three chapters applies his conclusions to some of the urgent questions of our time, such as the relations of men and women. In a somewhat hesitating way he appears to give the case away by admitting that morality may stand on its own feet. But he virtually retracts this when he says, 'we have been trying, not altogether with success, to keep religion out of the discussion.' The book would have been stronger if the author had definitely said (what is manifestly true) that there can be no constraining morality without a religious foundation. That, indeed, is what his argument leads to, and for that reason the book is immensely valuable for the class of young man or woman at whom it is aimed.

Porphyry, the chief disciple of Plotinus, best known perhaps for his attack on the traditional date of the Book of Daniel, was one of the most influential opponents of Christianity in the ancient world. Following the lead of Celsus, he launched his great attack on Christianity in fifteen books about A.D. 270. He dwelt upon the contradictions in the New Testament, but the doctrine of the Incarnation was to him the chief stumbling-block. He was, however, far from being an ignoble opponent ; and, as Mr. Amos Berry Hulén remarks, 'his earnest defence of immortality, prayer and Providence, was worthy of a Christian father.' Mr. Hulén, from whom copies of his brochure of fifty-six pages on *Porphyry's Work against the Christians: An Interpretation*, can be obtained at 786 Elm Street, New Haven, Conn., U.S.A., writes his study 'to throw light upon the philosopher's religious development, his place among those who attacked the Church, his attitude towards Christianity, and the order of his work.'

The Presence of the Lord.

BY THE REVEREND NORMAN HOOK, M.A., VICAR OF ST. LUKE'S, WEST NORWOOD, LONDON.

In the crude and undeveloped forms of religion such as are represented in the early narratives of the Old Testament, the Presence of God is conceived as localized. His abode is Mount Sinai, or the Ark of the Wilderness, or the High Places of the villages. His jurisdiction is confined to a specific territory, and outside this territory He does not exist. The story of the evolution of spiritual religion is the gradual recognition that God is one, that He is omnipresent and apprehensible at all times and in all places, and that if He can be conceived as having a territorial dwelling at all, such dwelling belongs to the spiritual side of human personality, which in the language of devotion is called the 'heart.'

In the light of such obvious and vital historical facts as these, there is cause for grave disquietment in the outlook of certain theological circles at the present day, and particularly in regard to Eucharistic Theology. The writer of this article is a busy parish clergyman whose constant business it is to deal with the spiritual problems of ordinary people, and especially with those of young thinking people. He has in mind the case of a young woman who comes to him and complains of lack of definite teaching. At such and such a church she hears a sermon which tells her that Jesus is really present in the Eucharist. She feels that there is what she calls an 'atmosphere,' in this particular church, which she finds lacking in her own. There is more reverence, more devotion, and in her lunch hour in the city she seeks out a church where the sacrament is reserved, for there she finds she can say her prayers. She has found something tangible and definite, and it satisfies her as her own church has never done.

Now in the interests of Truth what ought one's attitude to be? One might take the line that, as this soul appears to have found peace and spiritual satisfaction, she should be allowed to go her way; that what matters supremely is love of, and devotion to our Lord, and that no good purpose will be served by any attempt to convince her otherwise. On the other hand, it may be held that Truth is sacred and should be respected, and that apostasy of this sort should not be allowed to pass without protest and appeal. The writer agrees with this latter point of view, and his object in this article is to inquire what we are to understand by the Divine Presence, and in particular its relationship to the Eucharist.

There can be little doubt about the belief of the earliest Christians. Whilst still on earth we read that our Lord assured His friends that He would not leave them comfortless. He would come again in the power of the Holy Ghost. It was this assurance which accounted for the strangest farewell ever recorded. There was no sadness, no tears, and no farewell, for it was understood that His going away was expedient for them. 'Lo, I am with you all the days' He had said unto them. Christ could only become the universal Christ by ceasing to be the localized Christ. A localized Christ would have been to multitudes an absent Christ. But the ascended Christ was to be with them always, even unto the end of the ages.

In addition to this assurance that He would be with each individual believer irrespective of time or place, the Lord also desired to meet with His followers assembled *together*, and this for a special purpose. They were to meet together to *do* something, the very thing which He Himself was doing on that Passover night. He knew well the value of a memorial of this kind where people meet together to do something. The Passover was a memorial feast of the deliverance which God had wrought for His people in a time of great tribulation. It served to remind them in a forcible and suggestive way that God was still the Lord of Hosts, and still with them. As He had delivered them in the past so would He deliver them in the future if they remained faithful to the Covenant. Now Christ also was a deliverer. His life and His death would deliver men from the worst of all tyrannies, from the thralldom of sin and spiritual death. Accordingly He instituted a new memorial feast which was to replace the old. Its manual acts would remind them very suggestively of the deliverance He had wrought by His death. Observance of this Feast would bring to His followers the benefits of a new Covenant about to be ratified by His own blood. Just as of old they had reminded themselves of the presence of God still in their midst, so now the partaking of the bread and the wine was to be the token, the pledge, the effective symbol, that He Himself was in their midst. He would be there just as really as He stood in their midst at that very moment, and He would be there for a very special purpose.

Consider the nature of this purpose. 'Take

eat,' He said, 'This is my Body. Drink ye all of this, for this is my Blood of the New Covenant which is shed for you and for many.' This is very unusual language. What are we to understand its meaning to be? Surely it must mean now what it meant then, and therefore it can refer neither to the actual physical body which stood in their midst, nor to the Lord's glorified body, for as yet He was not glorified. Nobody of course believes that in the sacrament we receive the physical flesh and blood of the Saviour. And if it be said that we receive the Lord's glorified Body and Blood, it may be questioned whether such language has any rational meaning. Surely the literal idea of eating flesh and blood, however you may spiritualize it, is an unnatural one. It may be doubted whether it is legitimate to speak of eating the Lord's Body and Blood. Is it not more correct to speak of eating the sacrament of the Lord's Body and Blood?

I suggest that the expression 'Body and Blood' is to be understood quite simply as a synonym for His self-giving Presence. His presence in the sacrament is for a specific purpose. It is a *self-giving* presence. Recall once more the circumstances. Before the supper began the Saviour provided His disciples with an object-lesson which was not merely an extraordinarily effective bit of teaching, but which throws light on the meaning of the whole rite. He girded Himself with a towel, took a basin of water, and performed the menial act of service. That is just what His whole life had been. And now He wanted them to understand that His death was of a piece with His life. His dying was the consummation of this self-giving, and it was for them. But more than this, it was a process which should go on for ever. He still yearned to give men His full Self, His very Body and Blood, and the means whereby pre-eminently He would do this would be His sacrament. He would be present with them on that occasion for this specific purpose, to give to each and all of them His full Self, His very Body and Blood.

How can a person give to another himself? Suppose I give myself to some one I love. What does it imply? It implies a readiness to serve, to put myself in his place, to share his burdens and his joys, to stand by him at all times and more especially if he falls. It implies all that. Some of us have known what it is to have a friend the moral and spiritual quality of whose life by far transcends our own. We have known the inspiration that came from his very presence, how it was impossible to think or do mean things in his company, and how

his *self-giving* for us has been a constant inspiration to fine living and noble endeavour.

Does this help us to understand the self-giving of our Lord? He is present always with us, but on this occasion He is present to give us His full Self, His very Body and Blood. Or perhaps we might say He is always ready to give us Himself, but that His sacrament is the sign and pledge of this self-giving.

We can understand how such a sign and pledge would appeal to them. We can realize how much they would love the sacrament, and how they would look forward to it. It was a lovely thing to do, all to meet together in that way. We can appreciate how it would bind them close to the Lord and to one another. No lover of the Lord could fail to love His sacrament. But we must not suppose that they imagined that the Lord was present at this memorial of His own institution, and at no other time. The Lord was always present with them, only in His sacrament He was present to meet them *together* and to assure them of His utter self-giving for their sakes. It was a presence for a purpose.

From this statement of New Testament fact we turn now to another view, namely to that represented by the case of the young lady mentioned in the earlier part of this article. In its Roman form the doctrine is that of Transubstantiation, and in its Anglican that of the Real Presence.

The term 'real presence' would appear to be unfortunate. If Christ is present at all He is really present. There is no such thing, apart from figments of the imagination, as an unreal presence. Dr. Temple says that the doctrine of the Real Presence is the assertion that by means of the consecrated elements Christ is really and fully accessible to us, and apprehensible by us. He illustrates this by suggesting that we say a person is present if he is in the same room with us. 'But would he still be present if a thick glass screen were interposed, so that though still visible he ceased to be audible? At least such a circumstance would modify his presence.' (*Christus Veritas*, 245.) But there is no such modifying influence in the New Testament. It is nowhere suggested there that Christ in His sacrament is more present than elsewhere. The presence is always the same. The difference lies in the purpose. We may grant readily enough that the faithful reception of the consecrated elements is the vehicle of Christ's self giving to us. To say this is one thing, but to identify the Presence of Christ with the consecrated elements is quite another, and it is for this that the doctrine of the

Real Presence stands. The Presence is 'in' the bread and the wine, and when reserved the Presence remains. It is this view which explains the adoration of the sacrament, and the growing demand for an extra-liturgical cultus. If Christ is believed to be in the sacrament, then obviously the faithful will strain to be near the sacrament. In the language of official theology a localized presence is denied, but official theology is plainly contradicted by the language of devotion, by the ritual, and by the practices of those who hold these views, so much so that its explanations become more and more embarrassed. 'It cannot be disputed that adoration of the reserved elements implies concentration of the attention upon a definite enclosed portion of space, and upon a material object within that space' (V. F. Storr on 'Reservation').

But there is one explanation of which we must take account, which might appear to justify the doctrine of the Real Presence. It is admitted that our Lord is always present with us, but it is held that in the Blessed Sacrament He vouchsafes to us the special Presence of His sacred Humanity also. 'We do not go to the Eucharist because Our Lord is absent from us at other times. As God, He is everywhere, and He who is thus everywhere present is the Person who is our Brother, and through whose Manhood we are made, by the Holy Spirit, the sons of God. Our Lord cannot be more present than He is with His people always. But in the Eucharist we believe that He is specially present, by which statement we mean nothing vague, but the definite fact that the Ascended Manhood of our Lord, which is not everywhere, is present as the inward part of the sacrament. This wonderful and gracious gift affects us as the smile of a father who spent the whole day with his boy would affect the boy who perceived it. The smile of the ever-present father would call for a responsive smile, and the Presence of the glorified humanity of our Lord calls for a response in word and gesture by which we recognize His act of love.' (V. S. S. Coles.)

But surely where Christ is present at all He is there altogether. 'To say that His divinity is present elsewhere, but His Humanity only in the Eucharist seems to me mythology, and nonsense at that.' (*Christus Veritas*, p. 241.) It would appear to be heresy, for if it is not confounding the Persons, it is dividing the Substance.

The Presence of Christ cannot be identified with the consecrated elements. He is not in the bread and the wine. God is not in matter. True, we

speak of the immanence of God, but we need to remember carefully what we mean by this term. Spirit does not occupy space, so that you cannot say that God is in a stone or a flower. By God's immanence we mean that He is near the world, perpetually creating and sustaining it. We mean that the world is a manifestation of His Being. The higher the scale of life the more does it manifest God. A man will tell you more of God than an animal. Man's spiritual nature is a fuller revelation of the nature of God than is his physical structure. If special terms can properly be used at all in such a connexion then both terms of the reference must refer to spiritual entities, and in this case, if we can speak of God as dwelling anywhere, then His abode is the heart of man, *i.e.* in the spiritual side of his nature.

The notion then of localizing the Presence of Christ is one which we cannot but regard as retrogressive. It is contrary alike to what we see happening in the development of religion in the Bible, and to God's self-manifestation in the world, which shows an ascending scale, so that the material aspects of the world cannot tell us as much about Him as the spiritual. There is no warrant for saying that apart from communion there is any special presence of Christ in connexion with the elements. How can a person be 'specially' present? He is either present or not. The idea of the Lord's Humanity apart from Himself is a theological abstraction for which there is warrant neither in the original revelation of Holy Scripture nor in reason.

One does not doubt that people derive great spiritual benefit by their devotions before the tabernacle, but when it is suggested that a person cannot pray in a church where there is no tabernacle, on the ground that an atmosphere is lacking, then here is an uncritical appeal to emotion and sentiment which is inimical to the cause of true religion. Further, to suggest that Christ is present before the tabernacle and absent away from it, is definitely an unspiritual view of religion, against which the strongest protest should be made. The Presence of Christ is everywhere available. He is everywhere apprehensible. Above all, He is within. To hold this truth of Apostolic religion does not make one love the Sacrament less. All who love the Lord must love His sacrament. But to suggest that His Holy Presence is to be confined to the Sacrament is seriously to distort the gospel, and to fail grievously in spirituality.

Curiosities of Religion.

By PROFESSOR G. D. HENDERSON, D.LITT., ABERDEEN.

It is very difficult for people to feel happy about their valuation of new religious movements. On the one hand there is the text: 'Try the spirits, whether they are of God.' On the other hand there is the verse: 'Quench not the Spirit.' Men hesitate, and consequently fail.

There are new religious movements amongst ourselves to-day which require sympathetic, and at the same time discriminating, evaluation; but we must remember that the problem is not a new one. History repeats itself constantly; and the witness of the past with regard to the present is not to be despised. It will at least be interesting, often illuminating, sometimes startling, to examine the new in the light of the old.

Towards the close of the seventeenth century there were a number of very curious religious movements. The new ideas excited interest chiefly for negative reasons. They appealed to the dissatisfied religious consciousness. They were definitely without the faults which were troubling people in the establishments and orthodoxies of the time. They were free from formalism and externalism. Their positive content often surprises us with its obvious limitations, and it is not easy to understand how intelligent and even intellectual persons could adopt them. Yet the fact remains that these curious sects did somehow appeal to men and women, not only of earnestness and character, but apparently of sound mind. They must unquestionably have offered something which the times particularly required, or laid much-needed emphasis on some half-forgotten aspect of the truth. After all, Christianity is a big thing; and most generations have inclined to take the part for the whole, and have neglected important messages. Some feature about these new movements must have gleamed so brightly as to blind good people to all the accompanying inadequacies and absurdities, and there is not one of them which cannot teach us something even now.

The Philadelphian Society as an organized body only existed from 1697 until 1703. It concerned itself with what the Spirit had to say to the Church of Philadelphia; and actually published a volume of *Transactions* on quasi-scientific lines. But it was the outcome of earlier astrological, theosophical speculations such as those of Dr. John Pordage, who was a keen student of Jacob Boehme. Pordage

wrote a good deal, but little of it found a publisher. His *Theologia Mystica* is his most important work. He describes it as 'the Mystic Divinity of the Eternal Invisible, viz. the archetypal globe, or the original globe, or world of all globes, essences, centres, elements, principles, and creations whatsoever.' Poirer, the French Protestant agent of Mysticism, who was acquainted with Pordage, hints that he out-Boehmed Boehme; but we know that he made distinguished disciples, amongst them the German Baron von Metternich, who later himself contributed to the literature of Mysticism. Pordage could be described by one of his sympathizers as 'a man truly fearing God and hating a lie . . . a laborious searcher after Truth.'

Certainly he was an honourable man, but he introduces us to a curious realm, where we meet Angels 'bright as the rays, sparkling like diamonds,' and where we 'taste the dews of paradise.' His followers were also acquainted with the world of Devils, 'had heard, felt, tasted and smelt Hell, in salt and sulphur, and that by a magical tincturation.' They had extraordinary day-dreams, distinctly picturesque, but very disturbing and worrying till the explanations were satisfactorily intimated.

Jane Lead, whose name was prominent in this group, distinguished herself by her consistent practice of the principle that 'the Lord will provide.' She lived on Charity. An original interpretation of the Fourth Commandment allowed her so to do. Her ideas of the power of Faith resembled those of Christian Science. She believed in the speedy restoration of the Church by a new outpouring of the Spirit, of the need for preparation and the drawing out of the Elect. There came to her regular revelations which she regarded as in the same plane as those of Scripture. Some of these were written down; but she regarded herself only as 'the subordinate author.' When the revelations were about to take place, she says: 'I felt a sensible rising and spreading all over my heart, head and body, as if all were covered with a cloud of sun-heat, giving out light.' Many of the revelations dealt with interpretations of passages in the Book of Revelation. People were interested, and bought her printed works. Some even took the trouble to write out by hand complete versions of her books: the present writer has one such manuscript of her 'Laws of Paradise.' Her

literary style is very poor indeed, and this tends to add obscurity to obscurity; but she tactfully assigns the chief blame to the reader, insisting that to those who have 'come under the teaching of the same unction, it will appear to be plain and easily apprehended.' Allegory is largely used. For example, Samson is the figure of the Eternal Spirit. The writings are not without occasional striking expressions, as for instance when she declares that it is 'the fervent heat of flaming intercession' that has opened the Seals of the Book. But Mrs. Lead's visions induced what was perhaps quite unconscious presumption, and we do not care to find her comparing herself with the Virgin Mary at the Annunciation.

Richard Roach, another of the sect, calls attention to the predominance of women in the leadership of the new religious movements, and this is indeed one of their striking features.

Jane Lead's son-in-law, Dr. Francis Lee, organized the Philadelphian Society; and his *Dissertations*, published in 1752, were amongst the most intelligible utterances of the school. Lee was a much respected man in London, a friend of the 'pious Robert Nelson.' There is extant an interesting and exhaustive correspondence which Henry Dodwell carried on with Dr. Lee on the subject of his beliefs. If he wrote the well-known *History of Montanism*, he must have outlived his Philadelphian notions, and could see them in their proper historical context, for he concludes his book with the hope that it will confirm readers 'to walk in the ancient paths, and to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of the Church.'

William Law, the famous author of the *Serious Call*, who greatly interested himself in the study of mystical movements, is just in his criticism of the Philadelphians, as in themselves proof that 'Spirituality itself is such a contrariety, both to learned and unlearned human nature, that nothing whimsical or conjectural should be connected with it. This gives rationalists too great an opportunity of exploding it as chimerical, and makes even people well-inclined to it to be distrustful of it, and afraid of giving in to it.'

The Philadelphians were not all English. J. G. Gichtel in Holland was a prominent exponent of similar views, and a number of the unpublished English outpourings appeared in German translations. People in Scotland were familiar with the ideas of the Philadelphians. Dr. John Cockburn in 1698 speaks of them as if his readers would certainly be acquainted with them. A letter also from Chevalier Ramsay (afterwards tutor to the

Young Pretender), written in 1709 to a Scottish friend, has a jocular reference to the Philadelphians which shows their teaching was discussed in Edinburgh and in Aberdeen.

Scotland was considerably more affected at this period by the opinions of Antoinette Bourignon. She was much admired in England by such outstanding men of religion as John Byrom and John Wesley; but it was by Scots that her strange influence was spread even in the south. Dr. George Garden of Aberdeen wrote an *Apology* in her defence, and had a number of volumes of her works translated. Clergymen, University teachers, students, landed proprietors, and other apparently cultured and intelligent men eagerly accepted her doctrines.

They were led to this chiefly by hostility to theological and sectarian hair-splitting. Both the dogmatic intricacies which had occupied the attention of the ministers, and the ecclesiastical differences of which so much had been made in that generation, seemed to them to be out of all relation to real life. They complained also of the 'dryness' of the preaching to which they had been subjected in Church. 'There was never more preaching than in this age,' it was said, 'yet never a greater spiritual famine.' One noteworthy feature of Scottish Bourignonism was the great zeal shown in propagating the views.

Madam Bourignon was a Flemish visionary who believed herself under direct guidance from God, felt assured of the divinity of the revelations that came to her, and placed them on an equality with other divine revelations. Her remarkable attitude to the Bible deserves mention. When she read the Gospels she decided that if she were to set down her own ideas it would produce very much such a book. She therefore read no more, being satisfied that God was giving her directly the guidance which the Bible might give indirectly. She was untrained and uncritical in such interpretations of the Bible as she attempted. Neither had she any serious appreciation of the Church, its sacraments, its forms, its college-trained priests. Some of her opinions were extremely weird—as, for example, her idea of eternal propagation in Heaven—and had to be explained away by her friends as only her 'accessory sentiments,' and not necessary for salvation. Evelyn Underhill, not without justification, speaks of Madam Bourignon's 'wrong-headed fervour.'

She was not a woman for whom we can now have any special admiration. Her character was by no means attractive, and her intellect was not impressive. One feels also that her influence might have been promoted very adequately by one or two char-

acteristic volumes rather than by the nineteen which were actually produced.

In noting the remarkable following she received, we must remember the appeal made by her emphasis upon the Love of God. Her views, according to one of her disciples, laid the stress once more upon 'the great end of Christianity which is to bring us back to the love of God and charity.' This seemed to be a message which the Church particularly needed at that period, just as to-day, having had perhaps an overdose of that very teaching, it is quite naturally responding to the opposite emphasis, returning to Calvin *via* Karl Barth and restating the doctrine of the Sovereignty of God.

Neither must we overlook the fact that her followers were mostly led to acquire a deep interest in true mysticism, and read widely in its literature. They were not to any extent merely Bourignonists. John of the Cross was a favourite with them. The sensible Father Augustine Baker was well known among them. And the influence of Madam Bourignon gave place very largely in course of time to that of Madam Guyon. To her people wrote about all their troubles and weaknesses, and she replied unsensationally, demanding pure, disinterested love and naked faith, teaching them silent prayer, bidding them not lament over their sins, or over anything, but simply drop every worry and allow God to carry them and give them all they needed. It is amazing to discover how many Protestants, both in Scotland and in England, were her disciples. Her regular correspondents included noblemen and knights, barristers and physicians, University professors and Doctors of Divinity. Some of the letters she wrote them are extant, and show that by the time her influence developed in this country she had recovered from much of the eccentricity which had so disturbed the ecclesiastical peace of France, and was a kindly and practical directress of anxious, over-scrupulous souls. Her influence was naturally not favoured by any of the Churches, for although by intention a faithful Churchwoman, she encouraged direct communion with God, which did not leave much room for priest or dogma. To her influence must be added that of Fénelon, whose works were edited by his Scottish secretary and were in much demand.

Perhaps the crudest of all the movements of which we hear in those days was that of the French Prophets. Readers of R. L. Stevenson's *Travels with a Donkey* have had the pleasantest of introductions to the horrors of the Wars in the Cevennes, with their persecution to extermination. The romantic figure of the hero Cavalier is well known.

Less familiar, perhaps, are the adventures of his followers who so excited London, Oxford, Edinburgh and Glasgow.

A great sensation was made in London by their prophecy that a certain Dr. Emes who had died in December 1707 would rise from the dead on a given date in May 1708. Crowds waited in vain for him to keep the appointment, and the civil authorities had to intervene to avoid serious disturbance.

The Prophets were of the hysterical order. They fell into trances and gave utterance to what were regarded as divinely inspired warnings. They quivered, foamed at the mouth, sobbed, cried out ecstatically. Their features were distorted. They collapsed suddenly upon the ground. They were levitated across the room.

The mission to which they felt themselves called was to urge repentance that the world might be saved from destruction, which the wrath of God now threatened.

The Scottish campaign of these Frenchmen has been little noticed, but it was not without its impression upon good religious people. In 1709 and 1710 there was prophesying in the streets of Edinburgh and Glasgow. Some of these utterances were published as *Warnings of the Eternal Spirit* to these cities. The present writer has a volume which contains warnings to Edinburgh, to Glasgow, and to London. The book makes strange reading, being a jumble of biblical expressions, pious sentiments, commonplace exhortations. There seems to be nothing in the revelations which is of the slightest spiritual consequence. Occasionally a definite divine command is recorded, as that they should leave Glasgow upon Tuesday, 5th December, or that certain pronouncements should be printed without delay with a specified text on the title-page. To the outsider it all seems merely pathological, and utterly irrelevant.

One of those who joined the French Prophets at Edinburgh was a Fifeshire laird, a grandson of the murdered Archbishop Sharp. He was an educated man, could correspond in Latin and French, was able to quote St. Bernard, Ruysbroeck, St. Francis de Sales, Jacob Boehme, John of the Cross, Augustine Baker, and other mystics. Later, we come across him as a Jacobite. He died in prison after the Battle of Preston. An interesting man, with perhaps too little to do.

He had at first been very doubtful about the Prophets, but to his surprise he discovered that some of his own friends had experienced the physical agitations and were prophesying. He was influenced by one or two things that were said which

seemed directly to apply to him, and to be too pertinent to be mere coincidences, or indeed other than supernaturally inspired. Further, he found that when he yielded to the movement, he attained a peace hitherto unknown. He was also impressed by the definitely good effects produced upon the lives of other people. He decided that the French Prophets were what they declared themselves, and he prophesied with them, and for a time suffered for his convictions in an Edinburgh prison. Some of his own prophetic utterances were amongst those published; but they do little beyond convincing us of his knowledge of the letter of the Bible.

The Prophets were heard of in other parts of Scotland. There is mention of them at Cupar, in Fife; and, when Calamy visited Aberdeen, he and his friends were suspected of belonging to this movement, and were at first very coldly received. Some knowledge of what was going on was spread by the strongly hostile books of Spinckes and others, but in Scotland especially by what was written against 'the loathesome and dangerous gangrene of delusion among the pretently inspired

Cevenois,' the work of James Hog of Carnock, one of the foremost orthodox theologians of the day.

The movement had all the usual characteristics of eccentric religious enthusiasms—a strange credulity and exalted self-assurance, an attitude ranging from pity to contempt for those outside, a feeling of superiority towards the organized Church, a lack of interest in ethics, a disdain of dogma and form, an arbitrary method of Scripture exegesis, and a general want of a sense of proportion. At the same time there was the genuine mystical feeling, an enforcing of the importance of inward and personal relationship of the soul to God.

One is struck by the common origin and common features of these movements, and by the way in which they combine the helpful and the harmful. It is easy to mock at them. Yet they appealed to souls in need. One realizes how difficult it often is to make up one's mind whether one does more good or more evil in ignoring, in opposing, or in supporting them. One certainly feels the mysteriousness of the human soul, and the ignorance of our best psychology.

In the Study.

Virginitibus Puerisque.

Something with a Sting in it.

BY THE REVEREND T. CROUTHER GORDON,
D.F.C., B.D., CLACKMANNAN.

* Nettles had covered the face thereof.—Pr 24³¹.

SOME people make soup out of it. Other people can make paper out of it. And all boys hate to touch it. What is it? Our old enemy the nettle. I often wonder why God made the nettle at all, because it stings everybody that comes near it. Have you ever looked at the sting through a microscope? Well, if you do, you will see that it has a sharp point, which pierces underneath the skin, and from this point a tube leads back to a bulb of acrid fluid. Now, when that fluid runs into your flesh it makes you jump. This is how the damage is done. There is not a boy worth his salt who has not stumbled through some old dump or dust heap, only to be caught among the nettles. And yet very few boys or girls know anything about this very queer plant.

One of the strange things about the nettle, for instance, is that there are two kinds, the gentleman kind and the lady kind, but these two kinds never

mix. They have no dealings with each other. They never, so to say, pass the time of day. They never smile and say, 'Good morning.' And I think it is very queer that these plants that never mix, but keep all to themselves, have got such a nasty sting. But, if you think of it, this is quite usual. Think of it. An old bachelor, who lives by himself and never mixes with ladies or other people, isn't he a nasty old fellow with a sting? Yes, very often. You remember old Scrooge, who lived by himself, who said, 'Every idiot who goes about with "Merry Christmas" on his lips should be boiled with his own pudding.' The old rascal! Do you feel the sting there? And boys and girls who won't mix in the playground are just the same. They say nasty things with a sting. Very often if you are the only one in the family, you grow selfish, and have no time for other little pals. You won't mix. And then you say stinging words. I know of little girls who won't play with others because of a patch or a darn in the stocking. They won't mix. And this is what stings worse than a nettle. Be like Jesus, who mixed with rich and poor.

Now here's another queer fact about the nettle. It does not sting a rabbit or a bird. It stings only

the hand of man. But the nettle grows only where man has thrown his rubbish or waste. In an old garden where a man has been too lazy to work the nettle springs up and stings. Among the ruins of old houses that man has spoiled or allowed to rot the nettle grows and stings. Out of all the waste there comes a sting. And you will find too that out of all the waste of your life there comes a sting. You see a fellow getting a good position that you should have got, but you wasted your time, and the sting comes out of that waste. Conscience comes and stings. Try to live your life that you may have no stinging regrets. Work, and work hard. Live straight. Let there be no waste places about your life, and there will be no sting.

But the best thing about the nettle is this. It stings only in self-defence. You know how a wasp will sting you, without you meaning to hurt it. But it is only when boys go trampling where they should not, that the nettle stings their bare knees. And this is a good rule for boys and girls. I sometimes see cheeky little chaps who are always wanting a fight. They kick and trip and bully even the quietest fellow in the street. Do not you be like that. Have a bit of a sting in you, of course, but never sting unless in self-defence. You will find that there is a way of getting the bully's conscience to sting him, and this is the best way to do.

A team of Christian boys in China played a team of boys, not Christian, at football. When the game ended, the little pagan fellows demanded to play two hours longer, but the referee could only allow half an hour. The Christians won, but the other team refused to cheer and said stinging things. Then the captain of the Christians shouted, 'Come on, boys, three cheers for the other team.' Then they asked them to have a wash-up and a good tea. When the beaten team was going, their captain said, 'Well, if this is the Christian way to play the game, we would like to be Christians.' And this is the best way to sting.

Give Alms of such Things as ye have.

BY THE REVEREND R. W. STEWART, B.D., B.Sc.,
ABERDEEN.

'Give alms of such things as ye have.'—Lk 11⁴¹.

As I was walking along a road in Bayswater in London, called Porchester Gardens, last July, I saw a poor blind man sitting on the pavement with his back against the wall. Beside him was a little Cairn terrier dog, and beside the dog there was a tray on which were arranged a row of little

biscuits, each of them about the size of a big button, and beside the tray there was a plate into which he hoped kind people passing by would put a penny or two—for the blind man was begging.

But he did not keep all he got to himself, for this was the plan he had made. Whenever any one dropped a penny into the plate the terrier got a biscuit. Thus he shared his profit with his dog. The dog was not greedy, he knew just to take one biscuit. I think quite a number of people who might not have given a penny to an ordinary blind man liked to give something to this one who always let his dog get a biscuit when he got a penny. It seemed rather funny, and I hope it was out of kindness that he did it. Then I thought it had a lesson in it for all of us. Do we always share the things we get—give alms, that is, go shares, give a present to some person who hasn't any, 'of such things as ye have'? Notice this—'of such things as ye have.' It is not much use telling you girls or boys to give money, for I don't suppose you have much yourselves. But what things do you have? When you get something, a lot of something, do you share it round?

I know a man who likes fishing. Sometimes he fishes a long time without catching anything. One day he caught a very big salmon. What do you think he did with it? He cut some slices off it and sent them to several of his friends. And I knew a lady once who got a present of a very large box of tea, enough to do her for more than a year. But she did not keep it all. She made up some of it into a number of parcels, and sent them as presents to some people who hadn't much of their own.

Here we are in church, enjoying our beautiful church, decorated every Sunday with flowers. Some people who would like to come are ill and can't. What do we do? Every Sunday we send the flowers to some one who hasn't been at church, to cheer them by their beauty. It is a little way of giving alms of such things as we have.

Some people when they get a lot of money put it in the bank to save it up for their old age. Quite a good plan. But then I know people who first of all, before they put it away, give some to help those who have not enough. Jesus Christ says words in praise of the generous person. If you would grow up generous and kind, you must begin when you are little. What is the first thing children get? Perhaps bags of sweets. How we like to see a child offering a sweet out of its own bag to a brother or sister. It is all it has to give, and it is learning to be generous. When one is older, perhaps one may get a new bicycle. You can let your

brother or chum have a turn. A great poet once saw a poor old hungry beggar-man on a snowy, winter day break off a bit of a crust he was eating and throw it to some hungry sparrows; and he made this song about it:

The song of beggars when they throw
The crust of pity all men owe
To hungry sparrows in the snow,
Old beggars hungry too.

Remember the poor man who gave his little dog a biscuit whenever he got a penny; and try to be kind. 'Give alms of such things as ye have.'

The Christian Year.

TWENTY-THIRD SUNDAY AFTER TRINITY.

The Promise of Power.

'Again I say unto you, That if two of you shall agree on earth as touching any thing that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of my Father which is in heaven. For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.'—Mt 18¹⁸⁻²⁰.

These verses are among the most familiar in the Gospels. The promise contained in them has been cherished by the Christian community from the earliest times. The more that Christian men and women have found themselves a weak, insignificant band face to face with a hostile world, the more they have felt that when they came together in the name of their Master, His presence and His power were with them. They taught that all their coming together should be in the name of Christ, and should so be able to claim the presence and the power of God behind their requests. We repeat often the familiar adaptation of these verses in the prayer of St. Chrysostom: 'Almighty God, who hast given us grace at this time with one accord to make our common supplications unto thee: and dost promise that when two or three are gathered together in thy Name, thou wilt grant their requests . . .'

But the promise and its explanation have suffered often a fate common to familiar things, and perhaps especially common to the familiar things of religion. They have been cited so often that their meaning has been unnoticed and forgotten. Look at the subtle change which has already come over the promise in this beautiful prayer. Jesus tells His disciples that if any two of them agree in anything they shall ask, it shall be done for them of His Father which is in heaven, and adds as an explanation, but also as a limiting condition of that astounding promise, that when two or three of them are

gathered together in His name, He will be in the midst of them. We now say, 'Almighty God . . . who dost promise that when two or three are gathered together in thy Name, thou wilt grant their requests.' We have put the emphasis on the power and might, and have come almost to suggest that if we come together in the name of power, we shall have the power of God behind us, as if some easy formula or rite or word would give us what we want without deserving or working for it. That is something we do not really believe, and we would not dare to act as if we did believe it; and so we add a condition of our own, a condition entirely unattached to Christ's promise, 'as may be most expedient for us.'

Let us ask ourselves what the promise contained in these verses really does mean, consider whether it is a promise we are prepared to take advantage of, and then ask whether we do believe and have reason to believe that it will be fulfilled.

The best commentary on these verses is given in the story of the request of the sons of Zebedee, described in the tenth chapter of St. Mark's Gospel. The sons of Zebedee come to Jesus asking that He shall do for them 'whatsoever they shall desire.' It reads as though they had heard the promise of our text and had now come to put it to the test. There were two of them, and they had agreed on what they were going to ask. Jesus asks them what it is they want, and they reply, 'to sit, one on thy right hand and the other on thy left hand in thy glory.' Jesus asks them if they are prepared 'to drink of the cup that I drink of, and be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with,' as though that were the condition or price of the glory and reward for which they were asking. When they say they are prepared, they are told that they can share Jesus' cup and baptism, they may pay the price, but assurance that they will get the glory is not a thing which Jesus can grant them.

It looks as though the promise had been tested and had failed. But Jesus explains how entirely they had misunderstood His spirit and what He meant by 'in my name.' If they had been together in His name, they would have understood that 'whosoever of you will be the chiefest, shall be servant of all,' and they would never have thought of asking for what they did.

The second of the verses of our text is a statement of what we must with our whole heart desire if it is as Christ's disciples that we agree together. For if we are His disciples, surely what we most must ask and want is His presence among us. Christ's promise is that if we want that, we shall be given

it, that with His presence we shall have His power—a power based on the same conditions and of the same nature as was His.

If we are inclined to think in a disillusioned way of the myriads of times in which we and other Christians have asked for things in Christ's name and not had our requests granted, we should ask ourselves how often our requests have been even compatible with asking that Jesus should be among us. This promise is a promise to disciples who want the presence of their Master above everything else, and none of us is more than a faint-hearted disciple at the best. We have most of us a natural desire for power, but do we really want the kind of power that Jesus had? For no one ever so wholeheartedly refused the ordinary means of power as He did. He seems never even to have thought of riches or authority, or any one of all the various ways in which we can dominate our fellows. 'Whoever will be great among you shall be your minister.' That is a lesson which it is very hard to learn. But it is the lesson we must learn if we are to make any effort to be followers of Christ. We are doing things in Christ's name whenever we are simply and sincerely serving others.

The last and perhaps the most noticeable thing about the promise in the text is that it is not a promise to isolated individuals but to a group, to men who are unitedly following in the way Christ pointed out, who are comrades and partners in the service of others. With this in mind we sometimes read the 'two or three' of this passage as though its whole meaning were that Christ's presence would be with *even* the smallest group, though of course He would be present with greater force and power when great numbers of men united in His service. Many of us have been present at a great service or meeting where we have been part of a multitude of men and women truly waiting upon God, and have been wonderfully moved and exalted by it. But impressive and stirring as such experiences are, it was not of such that Christ was thinking. He was thinking of His own small band. For being brought together in Christ's name means coming to that unity of mind and spirit and purpose which only the intimacy and common experience of a small group can produce. It was the Twelve, and not the multitudes who heard Christ, who made the Christian Church; it was Francis and his companions who made the Franciscan movement.

We are continually faced nowadays with world-wide or nation-wide problems, and we must of necessity have world-wide or nation-wide organizations. The pressure of that necessity tends to

make us feel that we do nothing unless we do it on a grand scale, unless we are part of a great movement, evangelizing the world in this generation, bringing about socialism in our time, or perhaps saving the world from it, or making the world safe for democracy. Such great organized movements are necessary, and devotion to them is an honourable service. But we must not treat them as ends in themselves, nor forget for whose sake they should exist, as then the life and freedom and creativeness go out of us and out of them.

There is no miraculous power in a society whether small or large, but only as inspired by the spirit of Christ. If our society is to be a power in our lives and in the world, we must learn to look on life in the way Jesus did. Let us try to remember the bearing of these words, and of this promise upon the troubles of the world we are living in to-day. A seething industrial unrest marks a breakdown of our industrial civilization, a moral and emotional unrest the breaking down of our religious teaching and institutions. How can we seem to have achieved so much, and yet have failed so tragically? Is there not one common cause of failure underlying our political and social and moral catastrophes? Are we not witnessing that decay of organizations and of procedures which comes about when forms created by spirit, and shaped for the expression of the power of spirit in life, are renewed and multiplied and elaborated with no corresponding renewal and development of the spirit that gave them a glorious and creative power? Such renewal of the spirit cannot be speeded up, nor standardized, nor be made a matter of mass-production.

There is no expeditious road
To pack and label men for God,
And save them by the barrel-load.

But the renewal of spirit will come (and here lies our privilege and our responsibility) whenever and wherever two or three gather together in the name of Christ.¹

SUNDAY NEXT BEFORE ADVENT.

Ideals.

'Whereupon, O king Agrippa, I was not disobedient unto the heavenly vision.'—Ac 26¹⁹.

St. Paul tells us in blunt words that there was a time when the name of Christ was anathema to him, and the symbol of all that was most hateful. That being so, he acted naturally, and fought Him with all the passion of his resentful soul. It was active and bitter opposition pushed to the extremest

¹ A. D. Lindsay, *The Nature of Religious Truth*, 55.

limits. He was loyal to the light that was in him. Could that lead him to fight against God? Yes! Life is like that sometimes. Some of the biggest mistakes of our lives are made when we are trying to be loyal to the truth, to work for the best, and to be true to the highest. It would be much easier for us if we could always find the truth the moment we wanted it, if we never made grievous mistakes except when we were hot to do evil.

Are we not living in a topsy-turvy world, if a man can be fighting against God all the time that he is loyal to what he thinks to be the truth? Not at all. It is only another illustration of the ignorance of man, his short-sightedness. We are all apt to think the last revelation the final one. It is difficult to remember that now we see through a glass darkly, and easy to imagine that we are seeing face to face. It is easy and human to mistake the part for the whole. We are always putting a term to the self-manifestation of God; we are eager to put the full stop before God has finished spelling the sentence.

Paul, in his loyalty to the revelation of God through Moses and the Law, and in his determination to uphold the traditions of his fathers, was at one time but a partisan. This was the abiding mistake of those who remained enemies of Christ, because of the revelation that had been already given. The partisan worships and is loyal to the form of the truth rather than to the truth itself. The Apostle was in danger of making this same mistake. The whole truth is too big for the forms that enshrine the part, and often the larger truth seems a flat contradiction of the lesser. Jesus said that He came not to destroy but to fulfil the truth contained in the Law. And it was inevitable that the larger truth of the gospel should seem to destroy the truth of the Law, because the new truth could not be put into the old form. The new wine burst the old wine-skin.

But Paul was saved from this ultimate mistake because he was always seeking the truth revealed in the Law, rather than the mere Law. The Pharisees and Scribes were concerned with the words of the Law, honestly trying to find their grammatical rather than their religious meaning. By additions of varying merit they tried to apply the letter of the Law until it covered all the new conditions of each new age. Paul, on the other hand, was ever seeking the revelation in the Law, ever seeking to plumb its spiritual depths, and in this way was able to appropriate its excellence, and no less was made to feel its essential limitations. He that doeth—he that lives in the spirit of the partial

revelation shall be brought to the fuller revelation. The Apostle here claims, before those that knew him from his youth up, that he had lived 'according to the most rigorous party in our religion.' And the first outcome of this was fierce opposition to Jesus. But this period of opposition, inevitable under the circumstances, was of necessity only temporary. The very loyalty which led him to oppose, brought him to Damascus—to the fuller light of the revelation that there shone about him.

There is a curious similarity in the life of St. Francis of Assisi. Some one seemed to show him a many-storied palace, whose arcaded chambers were filled with shields and arms and banners, marked with the Cross of Christ, and when he asked to whom these belonged, his guide replied: 'They are for thee and for thy knights.'

When he learned of the expedition against the Germans led by Count Walter de Brienne for the restoration of the Papal fiefs in the south of Italy he prepared to join the crusade. At Spoleto the first halt was made. 'Francis,' called the voice of God, 'who can make thee the better knight, the Master or the servant, the rich man or the poor?'

Then said the voice: 'But thou leavest the Master for the servant and the rich man for the poor.'

And Francis said: 'What dost Thou will that I should do, O my Lord?'

And the Lord said: 'Turn thee back to thy own land, for the vision that thou didst see meant heavenly and not earthly equipment, and it shall be given thee by God and not by man.'

Obedient to the vision, Francis gave up all thought of rejoining the band of Assisian soldiers, and rode slowly home that day, revolving in his mind this grace vouchsafed of direction in the path of the Spirit. . . . One wonders how the struggle shaped itself, how keen were the pangs which moved him, as one fair temporal hope after another took on the likeness of a phantasm and trembled into nothingness at the potent presence of these unwonted and unseen realities. Only this we know: he obeyed, and, in obedience to the Will, he found the Way, the way of the Cross, Christ Jesus, from which he never swerved.¹

God will be gracious to the man who sincerely fights in the twilight of an old truth against the dawn of the larger truth, if that fight be indeed sincere, as it often is. No man can do more than give his 'utmost for the highest,' even though his highest be pitifully less than God's best for us. No man can do more than this. And none should do less, though many of us fail before such a test.

¹ A. M. Stoddart, *Francis of Assisi*, 71.

There is one phase of this position that has particular and important bearings for us to-day. We hear much of the relativity of all knowledge, especially knowledge of the Divine. It is argued that no truth is the full truth. It is on these grounds that we are tempted to be weakly tolerant, to be idle in our search for the truth. It is only by an effort that we can understand the vehemence and passion with which men in the old days fought for their truths, which we now see to be so very partial, and in many cases actual mistakes and errors.

The only way to find the error that lies in all our conceptions of truth is to put our whole life into the *living* of them, not into the arguing for them or talking about them. We know that the life that we now live is not the best life, but not on that account can we refuse to live, to wait idly until the higher truth and better life come to us. Our civilization is pure savagery compared with that which shall be when the Kingdom of God shall have come on earth, and the will of God shall be done on earth. But that Kingdom will not come if we run away from that which is, but only if we go through that which is to that which is better. Likewise, though the knowledge of God which is ours at this moment is immeasurably poorer than that which shall be given unto men, and even unto us, not on that account are we absolved from fulfilling the commands and following the behests of the truth which is all we have at the moment. If ever we are to know more of the unspeakable glory and the unsearchable riches of the knowledge of God in Christ Jesus, it can only be as the reward for our loyalty to that which we know now.

'Upon this, O king Agrippa, I was not disobedient to the heavenly vision.' What a blessing it would be if all men dare be even as this man. If he had been a politician, every under-strapper would have made capital out of his *volte-face* and never have lost an opportunity of quoting old speeches against him. As it was, the Church cast it in his teeth for a long time. It might almost be said that no man shall enter into the Kingdom of God unless he be strong enough to be thus divinely inconsistent.

Paul knew the Supremacy of the Christian Life. 'And Agrippa said, Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian.' 'I would to God,' said Paul, 'that not only thou, but also all that hear me this day were both almost, and altogether such as I am, except these bonds.' And as he warmed to his task and lost himself in his favourite theme of Christ, the pomp and tinsel splendour of the court paled, and the thin, emaciated figure dominated

the scene. As he brought their minds to the contemplation of the sublime ideals that mastered himself, and as he spoke of the Lord whom he loved to the death, the poverty and bareness of their lives stood out in pitiful contrast. They were made to feel even though it were but for a moment, that there is no life comparable with the Christian life. All other is but a vain show when our eyes have seen the King in all His glory. Our light afflictions, which are for a moment, are not worthy to be compared with the glory that not only shall be, but is already revealed to the Christian.¹

FIRST SUNDAY IN ADVENT.

The Kingdom.

'And being asked by the Pharisees, when the kingdom of God cometh, he answered them and said, The kingdom of God cometh not with observation: neither shall they say, Lo, here! or, There! for lo, the kingdom of God is within you.'—Lk 17²⁰⁻²¹ (RV).

Palestine in the first century, like England in the twentieth, was in a disturbed condition. There was the deepest unrest in men's minds, much discontent, not a little resentment and revolt. The Jews were a subject race, but they cherished the memory of their lost freedom. They loved to dream of a future which should fulfil all the bright hopes which the prophets had kindled and give back all, and more than all, the greatness which had once been theirs. Many circumstances led them to believe that the hour of their deliverance was at hand, and they became more than ever excited, restive, and credulous. In this mood they easily fell victims to the impostors who appealed to their prejudices, trading on their hopes, and abusing their confidence.

There are few more dangerous explosives than great ideas in small minds; and this idea that 'the kingdom of God' was destined to be set up on earth, and to surpass all the legendary greatness of Israel, was too large for the ignorant and prejudiced minds into which it was brought. Accordingly they had formed so false a notion of the fact, that when at last that fact appeared, they could not recognize it, and thrust it aside with impatience and hatred. 'He came unto his own, and they that were his own received him not.' When Jesus was born in Bethlehem, there was no welcome prepared for Him. 'There was no room for them in the inn,' is the pathetic record of the first Advent of the world's Redeemer.

The mistake into which the Jews who rejected

¹ A. Hird, *The Test of Discipleship*, 11.

Jesus fell is really the same as that which is ensnaring men still, though truly the forms in which it appears are widely different. It will then be worth our while to inquire what in its essential character the error of the Jews really was, since it is the same error which still besieges our souls.

St. Luke relates that on one occasion the Pharisees asked Christ bluntly when the 'kingdom of God' was coming. The phrase was both familiar and very suggestive. It had perhaps been taken over from the Book of Daniel, and had come to stand in common usage for the fulfilment of that great expectation of national triumph which the prophets were understood to authorize. It is essentially the same question which the Apostles are reported to have asked on the Hill of the Ascension when they came to their risen Master, saying: 'Lord, dost thou at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?' To this question, which plainly had behind it so great a volume of popular faith and feeling, Jesus made reply: 'The kingdom of God cometh not with observation: neither shall they say, Lo here! or, There! for lo, the kingdom of God is within you.'

This short, pregnant sentence, 'the kingdom of God is within you,' has been understood in two ways, for the Greek admits of two renderings. We may read 'the kingdom of God is within your hearts,' or 'the kingdom of God is actually present in your midst.' The difference is not so great as it sounds. Whether our Lord had in view the rightful state of men's hearts, or rather was thinking of those disciples in whom that rightful state already existed, He was bent on disallowing the notion of an external system in which men as they actually were could be gathered, and which the question of the Pharisees implied. The Jews were eagerly looking for a social upheaval or political revolution which would suddenly enthrone them as the world's rulers, and thus establish Jehovah's Kingdom on earth. All the mischief to their minds lay in the conditions under which they were living; they never suspected that it had a deeper and nearer root in their own sinfulness. Christ pointed them to a transformation of men's hearts, slow, silent, searching, from which, by an inevitable consequence, the whole intercourse of society should be cleansed and exalted.¹

James Martineau says: 'The kingdom of God is not a business, set up in rivalry with worldly business; but a divine *law* regulating, and a divine temper pervading, the pursuits of worldly business.'

What is really the same fundamental truth is

stated by Vera Brittain in her latest book—*Testament of Youth*—'I do not believe that a League of Nations, or a Kellogg Pact, or any Disarmament Conference, will ever rescue our poor remnant of civilization from the threatening forces of destruction, until we can somehow impart to the rational processes of constructive thought and experiment that element of sanctified loveliness which, like a superb sunshine breaking through thunder-clouds, from time to time glorifies war.'

When once we have grasped this truth that 'the kingdom of God is within men's hearts,' a spiritual kingdom holding its citizens in allegiance to an unseen yet ever-present King, we shall be in little danger of tying our hopes of human virtue and happiness to any specific social or political policy. The genuine Christian is the master, not the slave, of his circumstances. He proves a truth which has often enough been asserted. 'Manners maketh man,' says the old Wyckhamist motto, implying that money, rank, and fortune cannot make him. 'A man's a man for a' that,' sings the Scottish poet, pointing the same moral. And when in the Sermon on the Mount our Saviour bade us not be anxious about food and clothing, but rather to 'seek first God's kingdom and his righteousness,' He was emphasizing the same high doctrine. But, while all this is true and primary, it would be a great error, a grave misunderstanding of our Lord's teaching, to think that Christians ought not to concern themselves with the duties of secular citizenship. On the contrary, it is apparent that the very type of virtue which Christ requires and which He Himself exhibited supremely on earth, demands a frank acceptance of the burden of common life. 'The Son of Man came eating and drinking,' we read in the Gospel. 'I am among you as he that serveth,' He said of Himself. 'Is not this the carpenter?' asked His fellow-townsmen in resentful scorn. One of His most characteristic sayings was, 'It is more blessed to give than to receive.' Now such sayings are meaningless if they be separated from the implications of life in society. The Christian character—loyal, humble, serviceable to others, sacrificing self—requires for its development and expression a personal acceptance of social obligations. 'Ye are the salt of the earth,' 'Ye are the light of the world,' He said, using metaphors which imply social contact, and the quiet exertion of personal example in the myriad contacts of common life. The home, the school, the State, the Church—all the inevitable groupings of civilized men and women grow to their best in Christ's service. Christianity is truly called the religion of humanity,

¹ H. Hensley Henson, *The Kingdom of God*, 7.

because only as Christian does the human race fulfil itself.

Let us come nearer home, and bring our discourse into direct relation to ourselves. We, like the Jews who questioned Jesus, are very discontented with the state of the world. Contentment is never common in the best of times : but in this sad world which has been broken by war can it anywhere be found ? The very bitterness of our resentment against social wrongs and hardships shows that we are neither cynics nor pessimists. We, too, have our cherished dream of a 'kingdom of God' some day to be set up on earth, in which all that now darkens and disorders the lives of men and women shall have disappeared, and justice, peace, purity, and love shall triumph in human society. But here comes in our danger. Like the Jews we are tempted to forget the present in our absorption with the future. We carry our hopes into another setting than that which frames our actual lives, and take for granted that they can only be fulfilled by dramatic changes in all the arrangements, social, economic, political, which now control us. It occurs to us as little as it occurred to the Jews to look for the Kingdom in the common course of experience. To us, then—discontented, expectant, looking for change—Jesus says, 'The kingdom of God cometh not with observation : the kingdom of God is within you.' The Kingdom does not depend on great changes of circumstances, for all the changes of that kind which are needed have their promise and potency in a change of heart which need not wait. 'The secret of the Lord is with them that fear him.' It is only by multiplying 'the sons of the kingdom' that its establishment can be secured. The prophet's picture of Messiah's reign included this, basing the social well-being on personal goodness. 'Violence shall no more be heard in thy land, desolation or destruction within thy borders ; but thou shalt call thy walls salvation, and thy gates praise. . . . Thy people also shall be righteous.'

THE SECOND SUNDAY IN ADVENT.

The Finality of Christianity.

'Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away.'—Mt 24²⁶.

'Jesus Christ the same yesterday, and today, and for ever.'—Heb 13⁸.

Members of a certain school profess to discover a serious deficiency in the teaching of our Lord which leads them to anticipate the failure of Christianity and the coming of another teacher with a sur-

passing gospel. Emerson gave expression to this disappointment and prophecy. 'The history of Christ is the best document of the power of character which we have. He did well. But he that shall come shall do better. The mind requires a far higher exhibition of character, one which shall make itself good to the senses as well as to the soul ; a success to the senses as well as to the soul.'

One half of the Emersonian view is literally correct. Our Lord did rigidly abstain from intermeddling with the existing order of things ; His teaching was confined to one section of our complex nature, to one out of our manifold relations. 'My kingdom is not of this world,' was the definition that He gave of His mission, and with this solemn avowal His whole career was severely consistent. He came to redeem mankind, to make all things new, by breathing a new life into the souls of men. Forms, methods, and systems for the development and control of civilization are quite outside His range. He aimed at realizing the highest social ideals by the dynamic of spiritual truth alone ; the greatest venture of pure thought that this world has ever known.

Was, then, our Lord mistaken ? Have the ages proved Him in the wrong, and shown the need of a mightier redeemer, whose mission should aim at the immediate realization of all worldly power, wealth, beauty, and pleasure ? To assist us to give a right answer to these questions we cannot do better than adduce the testimony of one of the ablest jurists of our generation. A letter written by the eminent French philosopher and statesman, Alexis de Tocqueville, to Lord Houghton, is an illuminating document on this very question. 'I cannot make out why in these days so many distinguished minds evince the tendency to approve the Mussulman. For my part my contact with Islamism produces the very opposite effect on me. The more I see of that religion, the more convinced I am that from it springs the gradual downfall of the Mussulman. Mahomet's mistake, which was to weld together a code of civil and political institutions with a religious belief, in such a way as to impose on the former the immovability which is the nature of the latter, was in itself enough to doom its followers to inferiority first, and then to unavoidable destruction. Christianity derived its grandeur and sanctity from never having entered any paths but those of religion, leaving the rest to follow with the progress and free development of the human mind.'

Architects refrain from the temptation of combining material of dissimilar quality in the same

building lest changes in the temperature cause expansion and contraction in the steel bars, and so tear asunder the solid masonry in which they are embedded—a faint figure from the material realm of the fatuity of attempting to bind together in one system methods subject to the contingencies of time and space, with principles of eternal obligation.¹

'My words shall not pass away.' 'Jesus Christ the same.' It is worth while to think of some of the ways in which these great sayings justify themselves to the Christian of to-day. We are feeling after what is permanent in the midst of change just as were the men and women to whom the Epistle to the Hebrews was first addressed. With a very imperfect grasp of what Christianity gave them in its place, they were confronted with the fact that their new faith had separated them from the Judaism in which they had been born, and a crisis was impending which they could not understand, the crumbling to pieces of the power of Judaism under the advancing power of Rome. This was no common trial; and it is not strange that their hearts were failing them for fear. It was, as we would say, a time of transition. There was only one thing that could brace and fortify them for the conflict in which they were so hard beset. The unchanging Christ was with them, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever; and to Him, amid the welter of change around them, they could cling with patient faith.

We to-day are keenly conscious that our lot is cast in a period of quite singular and peculiar unrest. We see this in the outward form and fashion of life as we know it. The men and women who passed away at the beginning of this century would find the world extraordinarily different if they came back to it again now. And the difference goes deep into the very fabric of life itself. The world of thought, which so largely determines what we are, is full of reaction from convictions which were once considered to be permanent and assured. Even science is troubled with a 'fundamental scepticism' about itself. The pillars of government and social organization are being shaken. Something is being born, we know not what. Not only the convictions of faith, but its presuppositions also, are being called in question. It is not to be wondered at that men are crying out for what is unchanging, and turning eagerly towards all that offers a lasting and unchanging support. It is just here that we can find an answer in our faith. Whatever else it does or does not,

¹ W. L. Watkinson, *The Stability of the Spiritual*, 93.

it claims to be changeless in its essence. And that essence is Christ Himself. Christianity has still its guarantee of permanence and the pledge and promise of victory in this world of change and ferment, because it is the religion of the unchanging Christ.

Jesus Christ is changeless, first, in the unique perfection of His character. Age after age has been directed to the Gospels, with the challenge, 'Show us the point where He falls short.' '*Ecce homo!* Behold the man!' The centre of gravity in the fact of Christ for sinful men is not, after all, that He is perfectly holy, but that He loves them and is mighty to save. But that power to save depends, in the last analysis, upon His own perfect goodness. If He is fallible in this, He is fallible in all. Amid all our changes there is one change which has not come and is not coming. Mankind has discovered no rival to the moral supremacy of Jesus. All honest and unprejudiced men are still ready to acknowledge this, that alike in the world's yesterday and in its to-day there is one thing that remains unchallenged—the absolute uniqueness of the moral and spiritual beauty of the Jesus of the Gospels.

Jesus Christ is changeless, next, in His power to meet the deepest human needs. There is one thing which is apparent to any man who considers our changing human conditions; it is that, however greatly man may vary superficially from age to age, in all that goes to make his manhood he remains fundamentally the same.

Love, hope, fear, faith—these make humanity; These are its sign and note and character.

Man is always the same in his need of God, in his need of forgiveness, in his need of spiritual aid to conquer sin, in his need of the life eternal. And just because Christ brings him these great gifts, and men have discovered no one else who can give them as He gives them, He remains for us what He was to those who first received Him, the one source of satisfaction for our deepest needs.

Jesus Christ is changeless, again, in His power to transform and redeem human lives. Verification is a keynote of modern religious thinking; and we could wish no better foundation upon which to rest our faith in Christ than this—His unchanging power to prove Himself true in the experience of those who make trial of His offer of grace to help in time of need. It would be difficult not to regard the New Testament as a spiritual romance, if it did not find its counterpart and continuation in England to-day. The severest test of Christ

is neither the literary examination of the records of His life on earth, nor the critical co-ordination of the historical elements of the witness borne to Him by His earliest disciples. It is rather the age-long putting to the proof of His redeeming power in the lives of men and women who, conscious of their need of Him, have found in experience that 'He is able to save to the uttermost all that come unto God by him.'

These are some of the ways in which the changelessness of Jesus Christ can be tested. Discover a higher and better than He; discover men and women who do not need God, forgiveness of their sins, power to conquer their evil selves, eternal life, or, needing these things, cannot find them in Him; discover human lives that present problems which, taking Him on His own terms, He cannot solve—discover these things, and you have discovered a state of change which will so react upon Him that He can no longer survive unchanged. But until you have done that, He remains what He was in the past, to-day—yea, and for ever.

The changing world, which has outgrown so much, has not outgrown Christ. Unequalled in His supreme moral and spiritual beauty, He stands among the sons of men, the great Alone. His touch has still its ancient power, and He touches life in its to-day at the same points and at as many points as He did in its yesterday. He has proved His power to transcend time and all its changes. The stream of the perennial verification of Christ in human experience flows out of the fact of what He absolutely and eternally is in Himself. If indeed it be true that in Him God came to dwell among us, the very God incarnate among men, God cannot disown Himself and, so to say, leave Himself behind to make way for Himself again otherwise and anew. The Incarnation has given us God for ever. The gospel of Bethlehem, if it is true at all, is true once and for all. You cannot unfast fact.

Can length of years on God Himself exact,
Or make that fiction which was once a fact?

But truth divine for ever stands secure,
Its head is guarded as its base is sure.¹

THIRD SUNDAY IN ADVENT.

The Old Supports.

'Go and shew John again.'—Mt 11⁴.

Canon Raven has told of 'a supreme experience' which once was his through his love of birds and

¹ F. B. Macnutt, *From Chaos to God*, 167.

his ability to tell others about his hobby. It was in a prison. The dingy white-washed room was cold and bare; the prisoners were lads whose youth so spent was infinitely tragic: warders sat at the end of the rows. With his lantern he took them a-rambling through haunts of finches and warblers, owls and falcons, and so at last to the marshes and the sea. A redshank's picture was on the screen, and the lecturer described its wariness and its cries of alarm. And at the word the authentic cry rang out in that prison hall—'perfectly rendered in pitch and notes and spacing.' The next photograph was of a curlew. And once again there rang out the cry of that wild bird, plaintive yet jubilant. You know that cry. 'There is passion in it, and a broken heart, endurance and defiant fortitude, even a touch of exultation and of laughter through tears; there is the Cross in it, and the triumph of life tortured but un subdued. And in that ghastly place it came as an ecstasy. For a moment we were free.' The boy who whistled the magic notes there in the prison must have listened hour after hour to the voice of the wild, and felt stirring within him a passion of response. There he found himself through some deed done in the flesh away behind bars where moorland and shore were mocking memories. But when the curlew called, he was his old, free, clean, potential self once again.

What a height of tragedy we touch in this picture of that wild, Nature-loving creature of the wide, open spaces of the desert beyond Jordan, confined in that stuffy cell down by the Dead Sea, crushed and forgotten of God and man, bereft of faith and hope. How once the rocks had rung with that strong cry, 'Repent!' With what triumph of conviction and strength of certainty had that clear voice once proclaimed the Lamb of God. Can we recognize it now in that faint whimper, 'Art thou he'?

The situation is tragic, almost unbelievable, that any one who had ever had the grace to rise to the heights of spiritual assurance to which this man rose should ever come to this. That querulous whimper from Herod's dungeon chills the blood at this far-off day. Is there, then, no one safe from the assaults of doubt?

One thing we grasp at. At the blackest hour of his night John kept in touch with the best he had ever known. He might have been utterly and dreadfully mistaken about Jesus. It was possible that he had claimed far too much for Him and staked far too much upon Him, but He was the best and highest he had ever known, and it was to Jesus that he turned in his desperate hour. It was to

Him that he confessed his awful misgiving. And if access to the ear of God means anything, it means that we may tell Him the utter truth—tell Him, as Fénelon said, in that daring advice which he gave to a young correspondent, that He bores you. The strain one day became too much for the Baptist, and he sent away to tell Jesus that he was being forced to conclude that He was not the Lamb of God after all.

And the poor demented creature got that wonderful reply, that reply which makes one always certain that we can be frank and natural in all our prayers. Our Lord was not shocked or horrified. He was not dismayed. He does not even appear to have been surprised. As soon as the messengers from his poor afflicted friend had got out of earshot He began to tell the people round about what a big soul He thought John the Baptist was. There had never been any one like him in all the world.

And what was the reply of our Lord to the messengers who had come with the Baptist's dreadful question of doubt? Just five words of utter simplicity in our English tongue. 'Go and shew John again.' We see from the Revised Version that it is even a mistranslation of the Greek word whose significance is, 'Go and report to John the things which ye do hear and see.' And yet, if inaccurate, it is an inspired translation. It is a rendering which goes to the root of all restoration of the soul. 'It is not sufficiently considered,' said Samuel Johnson, 'that mankind requires oftener to be reminded than informed.' 'Go and shew John again.' Tell him the old, old story. Tell him in his prison that the curlews are still calling. Jesus is not scandalized by this apparent lapse on the part of the Forerunner. But how will He meet this desperate emergency? What can He say to heal the soul of the Baptist and relieve his doubt? There is infinite patience and understanding. His own faith was going to have laid upon it one dark day almost more than it could bear, so that He, too, in His awful hour would cry aloud that He was forsaken of God, His Father. Jesus knows that the sweetness has gone out of the wild honey for John. Take him gently and tenderly back to the old supports, He says to the messengers. Take him back to where he used to be, to his mother's knee, and his great days of faith, take him back to the old camping-ground where first he pitched his tent. 'Go and shew John again.' So calm, so confident, just as when He stilled that poor

hysterical woman's outburst, 'They have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him.' Just one word brought back peace and poise and knowledge and salvation. Just her own name—'Mary.' That was enough to steady her soul. 'Go and shew John again.'

And what are we to show him? No theological argument can avail to help him in his hour of desperate need. No marshalling of proof texts, no glib assurance that all is for the best, least of all any smooth and ready cant. What, then, can we do? 'The things which ye do hear and see,' personal experience, to-day's evidence.

John Keats in one of his letters warns us that it is never any use to argue and debate, and try to convince in that clumsy fashion. 'A man should whisper results to his neighbour,' he says. And with his dying breath he told the world how he had heard the nightingale, and what it had sung to him; and Keats's nightingale has gone on singing to men through the long dark night.

'We desire to hear of thee what thou thinkest,' they said to St. Paul, as they grouped about him in his lodging at Rome. In an age of unsettlement and many conflicting reports and changing opinions this is still the cry. They do not want to know what the orthodox view is, or what we have read that So-and-so thinks. They want no second-hand opinions. But when they have got a hold of a man who has travelled far, and suffered, and believes in Christ through it all, they do desire still to know what such an one thinks about the only things which matter.

'Every man we meet who experiences inward emancipation through God is God's word to us,' as Wilhelm Herrmann, of Marburg, used to tell us.

Through such souls alone
God stooping shows sufficient of His light
For us i' the dark to rise by.

Let us go and tell that the old gracious thing is still happening, that it has happened in our own experience—light coming to those who were groping in the dark, folk who had stumbled by the way being lifted up again, foul and leprous creatures being made clean and sweet, the poor having good tidings preached to them. And last of all that Christ understands, and that there is a special blessing for the man who still holds on when things are at their blackest.¹

¹ Hubert L. Simpson, *The Nameless Longing*, 67.

The Christian Catacombs of Rome.

BY THE REVEREND R. REID ROBERTSON, B.D., S.T.M., CARRIDEN, WEST LoTHIAN.

IN the year 1578 a chance discovery revealed the existence of a series of subterranean passages and chambers not far beyond the ancient boundaries of the city of Rome. These were the 'catacombs,' where for three or four centuries the Christians in the city buried their dead. It is the aim of this paper to describe these, and to indicate their origin, history, and value for the historian.

The first real investigation of the catacombs was carried out by Bosio, whose descriptive work *Roma Sotterranea Cristiana* was published in 1632, three years after his death. Interest was awakened, and it still increases. The nineteenth century provided a sequence of scientific archæologists, chief among whom were the Jesuit Marchi and his disciple de Rossi. Many of their conclusions are at variance with the opinions of previous writers, and with the popular ideas of our own day, concerning the origin and use of the catacombs, and the manner of the lives and deaths of the Christians who are there interred.

The etymology of the term 'catacomb' is still disputed, but opinion seems to favour a derivation from the Greek preposition *κατα* and the noun *κρυβη*, 'hollow,' and to reject the suggestions that it is derived from *κατα* and *τυμβος*, 'tomb,' or *κατα* and the Latin *cumbere*, 'to lie.' At first it was not applied to a place of burial at all, but to undulating land near the Appian Way. Here one of the most important of the Christian cemeteries was constructed, to which the name 'catacomb' was transferred. 'A visit to the cemeteries became synonymous with a visit "ad catacumbas," and the term "catacomb" gradually came to be regarded as the specific name for all subterranean excavations for purposes of burial.'¹

At the time of the introduction of Christianity to Rome cremation had practically superseded inhumation as the means of disposing of the dead. There was no prejudice against the latter method, which was that of antiquity. Cicero tells us that Marius was buried, and that Sulla was the first member of the Gens Cornelia to be cremated (*De Legibus*, ii. 22). Their belief in the resurrection of the body prevented the Jews from conforming to the prevailing usage of the Romans, and in excavating catacombs, the Christians were

but following their practice. Jewish catacombs have been discovered also, but they can be distinguished from the Christian by various means which will be noted later.

Roman law forbade burial within the city, with the result that the catacombs were constructed at various points along the great consular roads leading from the city. They had a very small beginning during the second half of the first century, but by the time of the cessation of burials underground towards the end of the fourth century they had become very extensive indeed. Marchi estimated that the total length of the underground passages was between eight and nine hundred miles, and that the number of the burials had exceeded six millions. Recent estimates have been much smaller, but one is amazed even by them.

Before the results of scientific archæology were known the view was generally held that the catacombs were secret burial-places for the dead, and refuges for the living, adapted from the already existing sand-pits (*arenariæ*). It is now clear that this view is untenable. The excavations were not, and could not be, secret. The entrances were open to the sky, and could be seen by all who journeyed along the highway. The law gave adequate protection both for the construction and the preservation of the catacombs, and without this protection they could never have been excavated. 'The true doctrine is that the catacombs were the work of the Christians alone, and from the first designated for places of sepulture.'² They were excavated from a different geological stratum than either the sand-pits or the stone quarries. In them as much stone is *left* as is consistent with their purpose, while in the sand-pits and the stone quarries as much is *removed* as is consistent with safety. In the periods of persecution, however, the entrances to the catacombs were sometimes concealed, and new secret entrances were made connecting them with the other subterranean workings.

For the first Christian burials land was obtained from wealthy patrons, themselves Christians or sympathetic to the new faith. 'The first "cubacula" and galleries of the catacombs were excavated beneath the subterranean farms of some of the faithful, who placed at the disposal of their brethren in the faith the area above and

¹ Venables, art. on 'Catacombs,' in *Dict. of Christian Antiquities*, 294.

² Marchi, quoted by Venables.

below ground of their country properties.'¹ The names of the catacombs sometimes indicate both the name of the original owner of the land and the name or names of the martyrs buried in them, e.g. 'Coemeterium Domitillae ad SS. Nereum et Achilleum.' The small 'area' being obtained, excavation commenced. An entrance was dug down till a suitable stratum was struck; then a narrow tunnel about a yard wide and eight feet high was commenced, and from the ends of this other tunnels at right angles were dug out beneath the area granted, till the tunnels roughly formed the sides of a square. At intervals small chambers might be made, and these are known as 'cubicula.' In the walls of the passages and cubicula 'loculi' were excavated for the bodies. These usually were made for only one body, which lay parallel to the passage, and not at right angles to it as in some of the non-Christian catacombs. In some of the walls there are as many as twelve loculi one above the other, the oldest being the highest, since to give additional space the floor was dug deeper, but such a number is unusual, four to eight being customary. The cubicula were sometimes family vaults, and sometimes burial-places for men or women of special distinction. When the loculi of the first excavations had all been used, another series of passages and cubicula was constructed on a lower level, and there are examples in the catacombs of seven storeys being so constructed. In time the excavations below one area came to be joined up with those below another, and so the vast labyrinth of the beginning of the fifth century was created. When the catacombs became a place of pilgrimage, as they were in the time of Jerome (350), new entrances and light shafts were made, so that the original form was obscured in many cases; and when there was a strong demand for resting-places near the 'martyrs' many additional loculi were cut out, particularly behind the old cubicula. This, and the previously mentioned joining up of different systems, gave the catacombs their labyrinthine character. They were not constructed to plan, but only as the need for them arose, and archaeologists have been able to demonstrate that as time went on, space became so precious that many devices were employed to make the utmost use of it. In some of the catacombs interments took place in the floors of the passages.

After a burial in the Christian catacombs the loculus was sealed either by one slab of stone or by three or four bricks, and these were frequently

decorated with paintings and symbols, and inscribed with the name of the dead person and one or more conventional phrases, which reveal to us the spirit of the faithful of those times in no uncertain way. The walls and roofs of the cubicula were also commonly decorated. In the earlier period there are very few consular dates on the inscriptions. About 370, Pope Damasus, in fulfilment of a vow that he would repair the graves of the 'martyrs' if peace were restored among his clergy, caused much new decoration to be done, and many new inscriptions to be cut. The art of the first period, before the Decian persecution, is classical in style, and the inscriptions are short, while the symbolism is comparatively simple. During the persecutions symbolism became more involved, and cryptic expressions were used in the inscriptions, which were longer.

The Christian catacombs are distinguished from the Jewish and Roman catacombs by various signs. It does not seem to have been customary for the Jews to return to the places of burial for anniversary rites of any kind. In their catacombs the loculi are not sealed so carefully, and often the passages are filled in. Scenes from the Old Testament are very occasionally painted on the walls, and the predominant symbol is that of a seven-branch candlestick. In the pagan catacombs the loculi are often at right angles to the passages, and it seems agreed that these catacombs were family burial-places, and not community burial-places as was the case with the Christian. There we find a different symbolism, and a different attitude to death expressed in the inscriptions. The combination of pagan and Christian symbolism in some of the catacombs led to a belief that there were cases of pagans being buried alongside of the Christians, but that view has been contradicted. Marchi says: 'In the Christian cemeteries no pagan ever gave a single blow with pickaxe or chisel'; but it is not unlikely that the Christians hired pagan sculptors to do their work at times, and that the result is a confusion of pagan and Christian symbolism. A second explanation of the phenomenon is that many of the Christians were converts from paganism, and did not break with ancestral ideas altogether. Perhaps with nothing more than with funeral rites do traditional customs survive. Three examples may be given—the recurrence of the letters D.M. (*dis manibus*), a painting of the Good Shepherd with the three graces in the background, another painting with Elijah in the chariot of fire, the horses of which are being held by Mercury.

¹ Giorgio Schneider, 'Catacombs,' in *E.R.E.*, iii.

The Christians soon became too numerous to depend upon patrons or upon their wealthier members, and it became necessary for them to organize themselves into funeral societies, which were about the only societies permitted within the State. This served a double purpose. It gave them security for their meetings as well as freedom to perform their own customs with regard to the burial of their members. By the beginning of the third century the Christians were in possession of their own cemeteries. Pope Zephyrinus, according to the *Philosophumena* of Hippolytus, 'set Callistus over the cemetery,' and was himself buried in what came to be known as the 'Coemeterium Callixti.' Several of the third-century bishops were buried there, one of them an authentic martyr, Pope Fabianus. When the city was divided up into ecclesiastical districts, each probably had its own series of catacombs, and its own funerary officers. A Roman Catholic writer states that after the Diocletian persecution 'the priests of the "titulus" in the city had the management of the cemetery that went with it,'¹ and that the 'fossore' ranked immediately after the clergy, and were well known and trusted officials of the Church, charged with the important duty of caring for the tombs of the martyrs and those of others who were buried within the area of their charge.'² During the persecutions under Valerian, Decius, and Diocletian the catacombs were confiscated for short periods, but apart from these occasions they were unmolested till the pagan invasions of Alaric, by which time they had ceased to be used for burial. Shortly before that it seems to have become the custom for the fossore' to prepare and sell loculi near the resting-places of supposed martyrs, the rights having become vested in the officers rather than in the community, which by this time was very large, since Christianity had become the religion of the Empire.

Certain features of the catacombs may now be considered. The *language* of the inscriptions is mostly Greek, but there are cases of Latin, and of Latin words in Greek caligraphy. The *subjects* of the paintings are taken from both the Testaments, and include the following: Adam and Eve; the sacrifice of Isaac; Moses striking the Rock; Daniel in the Den; the Three in the Furnace; Jonah and the Whale; and in the New Testament, many scenes from the Life of Jesus, but few of them connected with His Passion. The figure of

the Good Shepherd is often repeated. In the earlier paintings He is usually seen carrying the rescued lamb, while in the later He is usually without the lamb and seems to be entirely taken up with the flock. Originality in the selection of scenes is conspicuously absent. There are two so-called portraits of Jesus, and not many Madonnas. Figures of a woman praying are frequent, but it is not clear what they symbolize, whether the Church or the individual soul in prayer.

The most frequently repeated symbolical figures include the following: the monogram of Christ, the fish, the dove, the anchor, the palm branch, the vine, the peacock, the ship, the letters Alpha and Omega, the Cross, the loaf of the Eucharist. These symbols are found cut upon the slabs and tiles which closed the loculi, painted on the walls, and also on small glass jars which have been found embedded in the plaster at the corners of the loculi. These jars are now held to have contained Eucharistic wine, but at first the theory was that they contained the blood of the martyr buried there. Tradition greatly exaggerated the severity of the persecutions which the Christians endured, and the number of martyrdoms, and the tradition seemed to be verified by this plausible theory, which has now been abandoned. On an artisan's grave the symbols of his trade, or drawings of the tools he used, are commonly found.

Articles were placed in the graves along with the bodies in many instances, and these have been brought to light by the excavators. Dolls, money-jars, masks, bells, mice, personal ornaments, and articles of toilet, and even dice, are among the discoveries. Terra-cotta lamps were used to supplement the poor light which came through the light shafts, and these are ornamented in the same way as the glass vessels mentioned. Sarcophagi were not commonly used, the bodies being wrapped in linen and then laid in the loculi, but where they were used they were also similarly decorated, sometimes very elaborately.

The evidence provided by the catacombs is of value to the historian in many ways. It supplements the written sources which he has at his disposal, and brings him into real touch with the times about which he is writing, so that he is able to make a more accurate reconstruction of the lives of the Christians.

Scientific investigation of the catacombs has shattered the idea that Christians lived in the catacombs, or worshipped there in great numbers. To do so was impossible. Few of the cubicles could hold more than two dozen people at one

¹ A. S. Barnes, *The Early Church in the Light of the Monuments*, p. 63.

² *Ibid.*, p. 64.

time, and the passages are so narrow that it is difficult to pass other people in them. 'It is an error to suppose that the catacombs served as the usual places of worship in times of persecution; for such a purpose they were entirely unfitted.'¹ They were the product of toleration, not of persecution, as we showed previously. During the persecutions of about 250 and 303 we find evidence to show that the catacombs were used as places of refuge, and that measures were taken to conceal the entrances and to have secret exits, but this is an adaptation to an emergency, and not part of their original purpose.

The catacombs, however, were not mere burying places and nothing more. At the time of a burial the Eucharist seems to have been celebrated, and symbolically administered to the dead person. Little loaves of bread have been found on the corpses, and glass bottles of wine in the mortar which sealed the loculi. On the anniversary of the death of a martyr, which was referred to as his 'natale,' the Eucharist was celebrated on his tomb, if it was of the table type instead of a loculus. After the Peace of the Church the popes were careful to make provision for the celebration of masses in the catacombs, and the few large cubicula and the one or two baptistries which have been discovered are generally associated with this period of religious interest. Venables quotes St. Augustine as deploring, 'That many drink most luxuriously over the dead, and when they make a feast for the departed bury themselves over the buried, and place their gluttony and drunkenness to the score of religion,' and condemning those who 'make themselves drunk in the memorials of the martyrs.' The strong element of hope seen in the symbolism shows that the Christians did not go to the catacombs for these observances in a mournful spirit, but felt that the saints had found the fullness of life which they still awaited.

The number of martyrs buried in the catacombs is most uncertain, and the subject is still one of dispute. It is clear, however, that they were in the minority—indeed, that very few of the millions supposed to be buried there were martyrs. It is said that the bodies of Peter and Paul rested in the catacomb of St. Sebastian before being transferred to the churches which bear their names. The attitude of the Catholic Church during the fifth to the tenth century established the tradition that most of the Christians who lay in the catacombs were martyrs. Several attempts were made to repair the damage done during the several

invasions of Rome, especially by Popes Paul I., Stephen III., Paschal I., and Leo IV., but eventually as many bodies as possible were removed to the churches of the city—at first for their protection, but later as relics. The priests in Rome during the seventh or eighth century prepared a 'guide-book' for pilgrims, *Itineraries of the Pilgrims*, which was of considerable value when the catacombs came to be examined in more modern times.² The relic of a martyr was regarded as an essential part of an altar, due to the fact that the Eucharist had so often been celebrated at the tombs of martyrs (some would say 'had always been'). Little discrimination was exercised, and soon every bone discovered in the catacombs was held to be that of a martyr. But when were the martyrdoms? For four centuries or thereabouts every Christian who died in Rome was buried in the catacombs, and 'it was probably not more risky to be a Christian under the Roman Empire in ordinary times than it has been to be a regular soldier in the British army before the outbreak of the World War.'³ 'Even in its external forms catacomb excavation demonstrates the security, tranquillity, and peace which characterized that happy century in the history of Christianity.'⁴ Nowhere in authentic history can we find an account of such wholesale massacres as must have taken place had every Christian buried in the catacombs met a violent death for the faith.

The evidence before us helps us to determine to what social strata the Christians belonged. They cannot have been mainly from the very lowest orders, for the method of burial would be much too expensive. The meanest slaves and outcasts in Rome were flung into the sand-pits, and such would have been the lot of the Christians had they been drawn in large numbers from these levels, and the catacombs would never have been excavated. What we find indicates that there was considerable wealth in the Christian community. The catacombs have been described as 'decorous, careful, expensive provisions made by the early Christians for the conservation of their dead.'⁵ Some of the sarcophagi indicate that there was considerable wealth among individuals, while the inscriptions and drawings show that the loculi in many cases hold the bodies of artisans. In general, the catacombs show that the Christians belonged

² Schneider, *ibid.*, in *E.R.E.*, iii. 248a.

³ E. W. Watson, *Christianity in the Light of Modern Knowledge*, 258.

⁴ *E.R.E.*, *ibid.*, 247b.

⁵ Venables, p. 295.

¹ P. Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, ii. 291.

to the 'middle classes,' and that distinctions of position were not over-stressed among them.

Perhaps the most impressive feature of the catacombs is the revelation we have of the spirit of the early Christians, particularly in relation to death and the future life. There is little evidence to show that they believed in purgatory, indeed it all points in the other direction. Death was but birth into fullness of life. We have already seen how they called the day of a martyr's death his 'natale,' and the following is typical of the inscriptions, 'Prima, vivis in gloria Dei, et in pace Domini Nostri.' The gloom of Mediævalism is absent. Scenes depicting deliverances were in favour in decorations, and symbols of hope, peace, and resurrection abound. 'An extension of our researches in no way confutes the first impression—that here we have most sanguine, cheerful views

of death and the future; a determined exclusion of the sombre side of religion; a hope that excludes even the memories of Calvary in its recognition of Christ as the guide and source of an unbroken life.'¹ The Christians did not scorn to make use of art to give expression to their convictions; they were not free of superstitions; their religion had a practical and not a theological emphasis; they were not beyond beseeching the prayers of the departed for the living, though it is doubtful if they themselves prayed for the souls of the departed; they were citizens of pagan Rome as well as citizens of the Eternal City of God. Thanks to the archæologists we know them better, and can find inspiration for our lives from the evidences they have left of their own.

¹ F. J. Foakes-Jackson, *History of the Christian Church*, Appendix B, p. xvi.

Contributions and Comments.

Mystical Symbolism.¹

THE student of religious experience will not proceed far with his investigations before being compelled to face the whole question of symbolism; its limitations and significance, its spiritual and psychological credentials. Symbolic thought, language, and action—the use of one thing to express or suggest another thing—becomes necessary to us, directly we begin to deal with realities other than those of our sensible experience. It is, of course, among the most deeply rooted instincts of humanity. It dominates primitive religion, it keeps step with human progress; and, even at his most sophisticated, man tries in vain to dispense with its services in the effort to express or communicate his intuition of spiritual realities. A thorough treatment of symbolism, by a writer who is equally alert to its religious and its psychological implications, is greatly needed. It is true that Miss Ewer has not given us this: indeed, she would probably be the first to acknowledge that she is not equipped for such a task. Nevertheless her painstaking little book, though it moves only on the surface of the subject, and frequently betrays the slightness of her acquaintance with those mystics whose means of expression she seeks to

analyse, embodies some useful information. She says very modestly that her study is 'a survey, not of spiritual experience itself, but of the language used to express it'—a definition which unfortunately blurs the fundamental distinction between symbol and image—but adds most truly, that the real interest of the subject must always lie, not in the language, but in 'the light thrown on the vital experiences which mystical symbolism attempts to express.' Perhaps we might add, that the very fact that mystics of all ages and faiths are driven again and again to the use of particular symbols and images, such as those of warfare, pilgrimage, feeding and transmutation in the effort to describe what they have known, is an oblique witness to the reality and universality of the great spiritual experiences of man. As he enters into knowledge of himself and of God, he always finds himself committed to a struggle, if he is to win what he longs for—a complete transformation; if he is to be fit for that union with the Divine which is the mystic's goal.

Miss Ewer adopts the widest possible definition of 'mysticism'; even including on one hand alchemy, occultism, and freemasonry, and on the other, giving the status of a mystical treatise to such an allegory as Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*. Her footnotes and bibliography witness to wide and rather indiscriminate reading, and a tendency to strain facts in the endeavour to find one stamp

¹ *A Survey of Mystical Symbolism*, by Mary Anita Ewer (S.P.C.K.; 8s. 6d.).

on all the coins that come from the 'mystical' mint. She tries to arrange her symbols under three chief heads:

- (1) Those which express a personal attitude to God.
- (2) Those which express a contemplative attitude towards the Infinite.
- (3) Those which express trust in an inward experience.

She finds the first type to be mainly Catholic, the second mainly philosophic, the third characteristic of Quaker mysticism; but in practice it is, of course, impossible to maintain these water-tight divisions between the soul's varying reactions to a Reality that is one, 'both inward and outward, near yet far.' Those who live by the Inner Light would be the first to emphasize the personal character of their devotion. The philosophic contemplations of St. Augustine are made incandescent by his passionate love. St. Catherine of Siena can contemplate the Sea Pacific of the Godhead and yet describe her most intense experience of the Divine as a 'mystical marriage' with the Bridegroom of the Soul. Ruysbroeck can move to and fro from the most abstract contemplation of Eternal Life to the homely symbols of food and nurture. St. John of the Cross, most intrepid of transcendentalists and most exact of all guides to the 'spiritual ascent,' cannot do without the exalted language of romantic love. The Absolute, the Personal, the Immanent—for the mystic, these three are one: and we shall not begin to understand the true significance of his symbolism until we realize how

spontaneous and poetic, how profound and yet how naïve, is his use of this device. Récéjac defined Mysticism as 'the tendency to approach the Absolute morally and by means of symbols.' Were the symbol merely a neat and appropriate image, this description would be among the most futile on record: whereas it is, on the contrary, among the most inclusive and exact. For a real symbol is the gathering point of a profound intuition. It is a sensible sign, having a certain sacramental quality, which first incarnates and then becomes an actual part of the spiritual experience itself, bridging the gap between the visible and invisible worlds, because charged with a significance which would otherwise remain unexpressed in terms on which the human psyche can lay hold. The 'fire of love,' the 'holy and living Bread,' the 'spiritual espousals,' the 'divine darkness,' and the 'Eternal light' are not merely well-chosen literary metaphors. They emerge with authority from those regions of the mind which lie between sensible expression and supra-sensible intuition; and, partaking of the nature of both, minister to the soul the thing they signify. So, when Miss Ewer speaks of mystics 'wishing to use a biological symbol' to express the relation of their souls to God—as if the matching up of spiritual experience and symbolic description were the deliberate act of the selecting intellect—she shows misunderstanding of that deep creative process, so much nearer to art than to science, of which all genuine symbolic expression is born.

EVELYN UNDERHILL.

London.

Entre Nous.

'A man who has never been a passenger.'

In *The Post Victorians*, that collection of forty-one short biographies just published by Messrs. Ivor Nicholson & Watson (8s. 6d. net), Miss F. Tennyson Jesse is responsible for Joseph Conrad—an excellent piece of work. Writing in 'Mirror of the Sea' of a steamer which has lost a propeller down South, and drifted away from the track of ships, Conrad asked, 'Does a passenger ever feel the life of a ship in which he is being carried like a sort of honoured bale of highly sensitive goods? For a man who has never been a passenger it is impossible to say.' Miss Jesse applies the phrase

to Conrad himself. 'He had no bread save that which he had earned. His genius did not disdain the fireside and the frank and open domesticities of marriage. He risked his life again and again in the ordinary commonplace way of those who follow the sea. And with the care and reverence equal to that possessed by any of those others, he quarried his works into the finest form he could attain, spending hour after hour, perhaps, on a few strokes with the chisel.'

What secret lies behind the life of Scott of the Antarctic? 'He took an iron grip of his faults,' wrote Sir James Barrie, 'and never let go his hold.'

As a sub-lieutenant he made his way up the Pacific coast to join his ship in British Columbia. Mr. R. C. Sherriff, to whom this biography has been entrusted, describes the journey:

'He had to travel on a ramshackle old tramp steamer, filled to bursting-point with Californians, with wives and children, hurrying off to a new mining camp in the North. They ran into a gale which lasted all the way to Victoria, and the ship became a shambles of sea-sick humanity and crying children. The few stewards on board were drunk or ill themselves—no meals were served, for the saloon (through lack of cabin accommodation) was filled with helpless, groaning women.

"With a small body of volunteers, Scott dressed the mothers, washed the children, fed the babies, swabbed down the floors, nursed the sick, and performed every imaginable service for all hands. On deck he settled the quarrels and established order by his personality, or, if necessary, by his fists."

So Scott journeyed to join his first ship.'

'Are you sure that they have no need of me?'

It will come as a surprise to many to know that hardly any notable sermon has been preached on the much-quoted Golden Rule, and that for the most part the homiletic literature on it is barren. But from general literature and from history Miss Jane Stoddart has got abundant material for *A Book of the Golden Rule* (Hodder & Stoughton; ros. 6d. net). It is a most attractive book, and one which cannot fail to be a power for good. The sections deal with the positive form of the Rule as given in the Sermon on the Mount; its place in the Early Church; the Rule at work in History; Servants of the Rule; the Rule in Sport, Society, and the Home; the Rule in International Affairs.

We quote one of the illustrations: 'After the Catholic victory at Dreux (December 1562), Francis of Guise showed the same chivalrous conduct towards his defeated rival the Prince of Condé; entertained him to dinner and slept by his side. We must remember, says Forneron, who is certainly no blind admirer of the Duke, that in this age victorious generals were cruel towards their prisoners, and often put to death those whom they regarded as personal enemies. The simple testimony of La Noue is sufficient. "He ate with the Prince and offered him his own bed." For the Duke himself, less than three months of life remained. He was fatally wounded by Poltrot de Méré on February 18, 1563, while he was riding

near Orleans and wearing, as his custom was, insufficient protective armour. On his death-bed the Duke sent this message to his brothers: "You see in what a state I am owing to the wound inflicted by a man who did not well know what he was doing. I beg you to make a very humble request to the Queen (Catherine de Medici) that for the honour of God and for love to me she should grant him a pardon." The injunction was not obeyed, for Poltrot suffered the penalty of his crime, but there is nothing in such a request inharmonious with the Duke's character. We are told that on one occasion, when his funds were low, the steward of his household advised the dismissal of a number of servants, on the plea that he had no need of them. "But are you sure," answered the Duke, "that they have no need of me?"'

Freedom.

'There is a story of a man who was paralysed, hopelessly crippled, an object of pity to all who met him. Some one once remarked to him sympathetically, "How your affliction must colour your life!" "Yes," he replied, "but I choose the colours."'¹

The Significance of the Obscure.

'And He knew there was no one He could not use. That is just as daring a claim. The bulk of His friends were average people. The dullness of the disciples often saddened Him. One of the wonders of the Gospel is the patience of Christ. It looked sometimes as if the truth that has taxed the wits of all the scholars to explore its depths, would never get through to kindle a light in these sluggish brains. Yet He trusted them with it, and He was justified, for they became key-men in the Kingdom that has penetrated the world. It was not guns or strategy that broke Napoleon on the Moscow road; it was the might of the snow-flakes. "During the century of expansion that followed the death of Paul," says Dr. E. F. Scott, "we do not hear of the name of one outstanding missionary. The real work was done by countless humble men and women who made it their first duty to spread the message among their own circle of friends and neighbours."'²

¹ J. Reid, *The Springs of Life*, 21.

² *Ibid.* 26.